

**The Familiar Epistles of Sir
Anthony of Guevara, Preacher,
Chronicler, and Counceller to the
Emperour Charles the fifth.**

**Translated out of the Spanish toling, by
Edward Hellowes, Groome of the Leasie,
and now newly imprinted, corrected,
& enlarged with other Epistles
of the same Author.**

**V Wherein are contained very notable letters,
excellent discourses, curious sayings,
and most naturall reasons.**

**V Wherein are contained expositions of certaine figures,
authorities of holy Scripture, very good to be
preached, and better to be followed.**

**V Wherein are contained declarations of ancient stamps
of sealings by stones, Emblems of Sepulchers,
Lives and customs of Gentiles.**

**V Wherein are contained Doctrines, Examples, and counsells
for princes, for noble men, for Lawyers, and Church
men: very profitable to be followed, and
pleasant to be read.**

**Printed at London by Henry
Bynneman, for Raufe Nevvbery, dwel-
ling in Fleetstreete, a little above
the Conduit.**

THE HISTORY OF THE

REIGN OF

CHARLES THE FIRST

BY

JOHN BURNET

OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

IN TWO VOLUMES

LONDON

Printed by J. Streater, at the Sign of the Gun, in St. Dunstons Church-yard

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To the Right worshipfull Sir

Henry Lee Knight, Maister
of the Leashe.



I Ght vvorshipfull, being
combred vvith doubt too
be noted of rash presump-
tion, and no lesse afflicted
vvith that vncouth & de-
testable vice of dull de-
spaire: I vvas constrained
vvith tyvo much oddes, to
endure combat with both
these furious sprites: and
after long conflicte, as it
vvere by the vvaye of ta-

king breath, they began to argue: and first despaire (be-
ing more fierce, vvith thinn face and holovve eyes)
grimmely began to saye, Oh beastly Svvine vvithoute
prouidence, and enraged Beare, to performe thy ovvne
disposition, vvithout all grace or learning, and voyd of
all consideration of the issue of iudgemente of others,
vvhich greedily despise, hate and beare enuie, and at all
times cease not to persecute the feeble attempts vvhich
thou and others takest in hande, euery of vvhiche euills
vvith many others might be auoyded, if by the nature
and manner of my disposition thou couldst keepe thy
selfe coy and mute. But vvith great impatiēce presump-
tion did breath forth these or such like vvords: ah mi-
serable Cockatrice, and caytife most cruel to mankind,
vvhich by thy ougly shape declarest the lothsome frute
of thy vvretched nature, vvhiche in all times and places

¶ .ij.

dost

The Epistle

doſt praſtiſe the overthrow of al honeſt, laudyable and noble enterpriſes, vvherin they vvould haue vſed many tedious argumētſ, if I had not cut off by ſute for diuine aſſiſtance. Preſently obtrayning tvv ſuch auncient and famous Champions, of no common ſingularitie, by vvhole preſidents, direſtions, and conductionſ, I vv as ſoothvvith deliuered of all perplexities, namely Lucifer and Iudas: but therervvithall not omitting to ſuccout my ſelfe vvith the vvifedome and policie of the Bee, vvhi h gathereth honey out of nettles, vvwhich both and ioynntly made ſuch diſcourſes of the horrible euills, deſperate miſchiefes, and cruell miſhaps, that hath enſued the hatefull company of both theſe companions aforeſayd, in ſuch ſenſible maner, as ſuche feeling vvitneſſes poſſibly might report. Leauing all their particular reaſonſ vvwhich vvoulde grow overlong, they concluded, that every extremitie engendreth vice, and only vertue is that vvwhich is equal in ballance: & ſo departed. Therby giuing to vnderſtand, that the vertue of a noble mind, is neither daſked vvith frowvard fortune, eiſher exalted or puffed vp vvith giſts or proſperitie. And preſently being brought to a certaine examination, I vv as driuen flatly to confeſſe that al ſtrength is vvweakneſſe, al knowvledge ignorance, aſtrictie imporencie, vvifdome fooliſhneſſe, iuſtice vvrong, temperaſſe raſhneſſe, fortitude covvardneſſe, and all perfection but corruption: of all vvwhich, & no other notable deedes, ſcan vvwhatſoeuer, may preſume and boaſt himſelfe, but vvhen God alone vnto diligence doth adde his grace. And thus preſumption vvith his ſequelle being remoued, and deſpaire vvith his drowvſie troupe being vaniſhed, depending only of
diuine

Dedicatorie

diuine providence, I began to call to mind my God, my Prince, my country, & also your worship, of vvhom I had receyued many good things, being very loth to shew my selfe vnderly idle, either ingrate, receyuing aduertisement of Gueuara vvhich giueth vs to vnderstand, that since the beginning of the vworld, there hath bene bin any Prince that hath extolled, or to vvhom Iulius Caesar, neither Alexander the great ought to giue place: obtayning souerainie in their seuerall vertues, namely the one in pardonig of iniuries, the other in giuing large and bountifull reuyards: affirming therewithall, that to the ingrate or vnthankfull man, neither vvould Alexander giue any reuyard, either Iulius Caesar pardon iniurie: giuing vs therby to vnderstand, that they helde it much better to darken their owne singular and renoumed vertues, thā to yeld benefit vnto so detestable vice. Forthvvith being vrged therby to confesse my debt, & constrained to shake off all drownsie forgetfulnesse, & awake my dull spirits to yeld my selfe as abandoned to do your worship either ser vice or pleasure: but my treasure and storehouse being searched and ransackt, I find it furnished vvith no other implements, but emptie abilitie, and barren facultie to performe the same: forced in the place of vvorkes to furnish the satisfaction vvith vvords. Yet frankly confessing that although oportunitie shall deny to yeld his selfe to stretch to the merit of your great goodnesse vsed vvith me: notvvithstanding at all times and places, vvords of confession and disposition to performe, shall neuer cease to do their indeuor to escape the vnkind disgrace of ingratitude. Adding therby hardines vnto my self once more to accept your patience vvith this present of Gueuara being finished,

The Epistle

and also out of the French Booke somewhat augmented; with matter both heroicall and deuine ythe prayse and commendation vvhenceof, I rather remitte vnto the glorious fame of the Auctor himselfe, than tediously without skill to paint or polish the same with colours of imperfect hevv. Right humbly beseeching youre VVorship to accepte the same with the mildnesse of your vvonied fauoure: & (as it apperteyneth) I shall

not ceasse to pray that the protection of the liuing God may conduct and followe you with perfect felicitie in all noblenesse both of body & mind, as may yeld your worship before god & man immortal renowne.

Your worshippes most humble to command
Edwarde Hellowes.



your great goodnesse yelded with meane vvhilst standing
at all times and places, vvhords of confession and dilpo-
tion to performe, shall neuer cease to do their indur-
to cleare the vvhord of ingratitude. Adding
thereby shewinge vnto my selfe more to accept your
grace with this present of Guestra being finished
corrected

Tathe Reader.



Ight gentle Reader, in all nations, countries, and Common wealthes, although barbarous, yet in respect of the office of Harold, Pursuant, Messenger, or Interpreter, they alwayes beare with patience and take in good parte, all actions both of worde and deede, appertayning vnto his office: And somtimes of theyr owne noblenesse, do bountifullly rewarde the same, although he vtter vnto them matter both opprobrious and spitefull. And also *Gueuara* maketh report, that it was a law among the *Romanes*, that no man whatsoeuer, shoulde aduenture to approche the Emperours tent in the nyght and tyme of warre vpon payne of death. The Emperor *Aurelius* as then making warre with *Zenobia* Queene of *Palmiris*, it chaunced, that a certaine Greeke souldier was apprehended within the compasse of the same, being committed to be executed for his offence, the Emperour himselfe from within his Pavilion with a lowde voyce cryed out and sayd, *If his approche were for himselfe, let him dye for it, but if it be for another, let him liue.* The matter beyng searched and examined, it was founde, that he came to sue for his twoo fellows that were taken sleeping in the wache, which after whipping shoulde haue bin deliuered vnto the enimies. And so it came to passe, that the souldier escaped death, his fellows deliuered from punishment, and the Emperour of clemencie obtained immortall renoune. Of all which premisses, me thinketh I gather vnto my selfe, a safetie and protection from all iniurie, bothe of worde and deede of all manner of men, not vnreasonable, which in this matter haue vsed but the office of messenger, interpreter, & soliciter: but to my owne payne, and thy profite, beeing vtterly without doubt to be requited with thy ingratitude. And whereas but with suche time as was rather stretched vnto the liking of him that myght command them mete for the matter, I haue not onely corrected, but also performed the translation of the firste booke of the familiar Epistles of *Gueuara*, that were not translated, and further finding certaine Epistles and disputations

q. iij.

To the Reader.

So
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disputations of the sayde auctor, by no man as yet translated, wandering and as it might seeme taking leaue: I thought it more convenient to entertaine the same with my simple English speech, than to hazard the losse of so rare, singular, diuine, & most necessary doctrine therein cōteyned, although but with my poore ability: flatly confessing that I want both glosse & hew of rare eloquence, vsed in the polishing of the rest of his workes: neuertheless most certainly affirming, that it goeth agreeable vnto the author thereof. For due commendations whereof, for want of tyme I shall yeelde no other wordes, than be cōteyned in my former Preface, as followeth: Being furnished so fully with sincere doctrine, so vntused eloquence, so high a stile, so apte similitudes, so excellent discourses, so conuenient examples, so profounde sentences, so old antiquities, so ancient histories, such varietie of matter, so pleasant recreations, so strange things alledged, & certaine parcelles of Scripture with such dexterity handled, that it may hardly be discerned, whether shal be greater, either thy pleasure by reding, or profit by following the same. Like as in a most curious shop furnished with incomparable drugs, & most precious spices, both to preserve health, as also to expell most pestilent diseases: euen so heerein is plentifully to be founde, things not only precious to consent, but also to remedy the contagion of any estate both in peace & warre. As rules for Kings to rule, counsellors to counsell, magistrates to gouerne, prelates to practise, captaines to execute, souldiers to performe, the married to follow, the prosperous to prosecute, and the poore in aduersitie to be cōsorted, wherein he delicately toucheth with most curious sayings, & no lesse philosophie, how to write or talke with all men, in all matters at large, with matter so apte, so learned, so merry, and also so grave, with instruction of behaviour, with thy better, with thy equal, with thy friend, with thy foe, with thy wife, seruante, and children: That for prayse and advancement thereof, wordes most certainly, and also tyme may want, but not matter and iust occasion to commend the same. Commending the rest vnto thy good consideration, and yeelding my selfe vnto thy mildnesse, grace, and fauour, I commit thee to the liuing God, to whome be prayse for euermore,

¶ The familiar Epistles of Sir Antony of Gueuara, Bishop of Mondonedo, Preacher and Chronicler to Charles the fifth.

¶ An Oration made vnto the Emperours Maiestie in a Sermon, at the triumphs when the French King was taken. VVherin the Author doth perswade to vse his clemency, in recompence of so great a victory.

S.C.C.R.M.



Olon Solonio cōman-

ded in his lawes to the Athenians, that on the day they had overcome any battayle, they should offer vnto the Gods great Sacrifices, and giue vnto men large rewards: to the end that against other warres, they might finde the Gods sauourable, and men of willing

minde. Plutarch sayth, that when the Greekes remayned Conquerours in that renowned battaille of Marathon, they sent vnto the temple of Diana in Ephesus, to offer so much Silver, that it was to be doubted, whether there remayned for much more in all Greece. When Camillus overcame the Etrurians and Volscians, his fall enemies to the Romaines, all the women of Rome did not forget to sett to the Spade of Apollo, which stode in Athens, as much Gold as Silver as they had in possession, without reseruing any one iewel. When the Consall Silla was Conquerour of the valiant King Mithridates, he conceived so great pleasure in his hart, that not contented to offer to the God Mars all the spoyle gotten of the enemies, he offered also a diall of his owne blood. The famous and glorious Iephthah Duke of the Hebrewes made a sacrifice to the Lord, that if God gaue him victories, returne from the warres he then had in hand, he would offer in the temple

A.

both

God will not
but that we
gratifie the
good thing we
receiue,

In the wars
more than in
other things
fortune bleth
doubleneste.

God will not
but that we
gratifie the
good thing we
receiue,

God will not
but that we
gratifie the
good thing we
receiue,

both the blood and life of his onely daughter: the which both as he promised, so he accomplished. Of these examples it may be gathered, what and how many thanks Princes ought to giue vnto God, for the triumphes, victories, and bounties hee giueth them: for though it be in the hands of kings to begin warre, it is in the hands of God only to giue victory. There is nothing that moueth god to be lesse carefull for vs, than the ingratitude of a good turne receiued. For the good things wee receiue of men, they will wee recompence or deserue them: but God will that wee gratifie and not forget them. Princes mosse chiefly haue cause to beware they forgette not benefites receiued of God, because the ingratitude of a benefite receiued maketh them incapable and vnworthy of diuine fauour in time to come. The forgetfull, ingrate or vnkind Prince, neither God doth delight to helpe, or men so serue. All this haue I sayde vnto your imperial Maiestie, by occasion of this great victory ye haue obtained at Pavia, where your armye hath taken Fraunces the French king, who in his owne galleys was brought prisoner into Spayne. A case so grane, a newes so new, a victory so seldom heard of, a fortune so accomplished is both terrible to the world, and brings your Maiesty in debt, whiche debt is, to giue God thanks for the victory, and to recompence the conquerours of the battayle. By this it may be apparant to your Maiesty, that there is nothing wherein fortune is lesse constant, than in martiall affaires, since the French king being present (and also taken in his owne person) with all the potentates of Italy, did lose the battayle, where dyed all the nobles of Fraunce. Much shold your Maiesty erre, once to thinke the victory to be gotten by your policy, or obtayned by your power, or els to haue happened by chaunce. For a deepe so famous, an act so glorious, and a case so heroycall, as this is, doth not fall out vnder fortune, but is only giuen by diuine prouidence. *Quid retribuam Domino pro omnibus que retribuit mihi?* If Dauid being a king, a Prophet, a Saint, and with God so priuate, vnderstande not what to present vnto God, for the good things hee had receiued:

ued : what shall we doe that are miserable, that vnderstand
not what to say, no; haue not what to giue: of our selues we
are so weake, and our abilitie so small, our valure so little, and
haue so few things, that if God do not giue wherewith to giue,
of our selues we haue not what to giue. And what we haue to
craue, or els that he should giue: is his grace to serue him, and
not licence to offend him. In remuneration of so great vic-
tozy, I would not counsell your Maiesty to offer iewels as
the women of Rome, eyther Silver or Gold as the Greekes,
eyther your owne blud as Silla, neyther your childre as Ieph-
tha: but that ye offer the inobedience and rebellion against
your Maiesty, by the commons of Castile. For befoze God
there is no Sacrifice moze accepted, than the pardoning of e-
nemies. The iewels that we might offer vnto God, procede
from our Coffers: the Gold from our Chests: the bloud from
our Heynes: but the pardoning of iniuries, from our hartes
and entrayles, where enuie lyeth grinding, and perswading
reason to dissemble, and the hart to be reuenged. Much moze
sure is it for Princes, to be beloued for their clemency, than
to be feared for their chastisements. For as Plato sayeth, the
man that is feared of many, hath cause also to feare many.
Those that offended your Maiestie in those alterations past,
some of them bee deade, some bee banished, some hidden, and
some be fledde. Most excellent Prince, it is great reason, that
in rewarde of so great victozy, they maye boast themselves of
your pietie, and not complaine of your rigor. The wiues of
these vnfortunate men bee poore, their daughters vpon the
poynt to be lost, their Sonnes are Orphans, their kinsfolkes
blush and are ashamed: In so muche as the pittie that yee
shall vse towarde a fewe, redoundeth to the remedie of
manie. There is no estate in this worlde, whiche in case
of iniury, is not moze sure in pardoning than in reuenging:
for that many times it dothe happen, that a man seeking
occasion to bee reuenged, doth vitterly destroy him selfe.
The enemies of Iulius Caesar, did moze enuie the pardoning
of the Pompeyans, than the killing of Pompeyus himselfe.

There is no
sacrifice moze
accepted, than
to pardon an
enemie.

The man that
is feared, hath
need to feare.

It is moze
sure to forget
an iniurie, than
to reuenge it.



For excellencie, it was witten of him, that he neuer forgot
seruice, or euer did remember iniurie. Two Emperours
haue bene in Rome, vnlike in name, and much moze in ma-
ners: the one was named Nero the Cruell, the other Antony
the Duke. The which ouernames the Romaines gaue them,
the one of Duke, because he could not but pardon, the other
of Cruell, because he neuer ceased to kill. A Prince although
he be prodigall in play, scarce in giuing, vncertaine of his
worde, negligent in gouernement, absolute in commaunding,
dissolute in liuing, disordinate in eating, and not sober in
drinking, is termed but vicious: but if he be cruel and giuen
to reuenge, he is named a tyrant. As it is sayde by Plutarch:
He is not a tyrant for the goods he taketh, but for the cruel-
ties he useth. Foure Emperours haue bene of this name.
The first was called Charles the great: the second, Charles the
Bohemian: the third, Charles the Walde: the fourth, Charles the
grosse, the fifth, which is your maiestie, we wishe to be called
Charles the Duke, in following the Emperoure Antony the
Duke, which was Prince of all the Romaine Empire best
beloued. And because Calistines would that Princes should be
persuaded by few things, & those very good, and wordes well
spoken: I conclude and say, that Princes with their pietie and
clemencie, be of God pardoned, and of their subiects beloued.

fewe & good
wordes are to
be vsed with
Princes.

An Oration made vnto the Emperours Maiestie, in a sermon on
the day of Kings, wherein is declared, howe the name of
Kings was inuented, and howe the title of Emperours was
first found out. A matter very pleasaunt.

S. C. C. R. M.



His present day being the day of Kings, in
the house of Kings, and in the presence of
Kings, it is not vnstte that wee speake of
Kings: though Princes had rather be obeyed
than counselled. And being we preache this
day before him that is the Emperour of the
Romains, -

Romains; & King of the Spaniards; it shal be a thing very seem-
ly & also very necessary, to relate here what this word King
doth mean, and from whence this name Emperor doth come:
to the end we may al vnderstand how they ought to gouerne
vs, and we to obey them. As concerning this name of King,
it is to be vnderstood, that according to the varietie of nations,
so did they diuersly name their Princes, that is to say: A-
mongest the Egyptians they were called Pharaones: the By-
thinians *Protonoi*: the Persians, *Arscides*: the Latines, *Murrani*:
the Albans, *Sylui*: Sicilians, *Tyrants*: the Argiues, Kings. The
first king of this world the Argiues doe saye was Foroneus;
and the Greekes do report, to be Codor Laomor: Whiche of
these opinions is most true, he only knoweth that is most
high and only true. Although we know not who was the first
King, neither who shal be the last king of the world, at the
least we know one thing, & that is, that al the Kings past are
dead, and al those that now liue shal die: because death doth as
wel cal the King in his throne, as the laborer at his plow. Also
it is to be vnderstood, that in olde time, to be a King was no
dignitie, but onely an office, as *Paioz* or Ruler of a common
wealth: After this maner, that euery yeare they did prouide
for the office of King to rule, as now they do prouide a Vice-
roy to gouerne. Plutarke in his booke of Common wealth dothe
repozte, that in the beginning of the world all Gouernours
were called tyrantes, and after the people did perceiue what
difference was betwene the one and the other, they did or-
deyn amongst themselves, to name the euill gouernours tyrants,
and the good, they intituled Kings. By this it may be gather-
ed (most excellent Prince) that this name King, is consecra-
ted vnto persons of good deseruing, and that be profitable vnto
the common wealth: for other wise he doth not deserue to be
called King, that doth not knowe to gouern. When God did
establishe an household, & for himself did constitute a Common
Wealth in the land of the Egyptians, he would not giue the
Kings to gouerne, but Dukes to defend them, that is to say,
Moses, Gedeon, Iephtha, and Sampson. This God did to deliuer
them

How in the
old tyme they
called their
Kings.

In the olde
time to bee a
king was no
dignitie, but
an office.

He that knoweth
not to
gouern, deserueth
not to
reigne.

them from paying of tributes, and that they might be vsed as
 byethzen, & not as vassals. This manner of government among
 the Hebrewes did continue vnto the time of Helie the high priest,
 vnder whose gouernance the Israelites required a King to go-
 uerne their common welth, and to lead them in their warres.
 When God gaue them Saul to be their King, much against his
 will: so that the last Duke of Israell was Helie, and the first
 King was Saule. In the beginning when Rome was founded,
 and the Romanes began to be Lords of the world, forthwith
 they did create kings to rule them, and Captaines to defende
 them. They found themselves so grieved with that maner of
 gouernment, that they suffred but seven kings, not withstan-
 ding they thought them seven hundred. And because the sooth-
 sayers had sayde, y this name King was consecrate vnto the
 Gods, the Romanes vntaunted that he should be called King,
 that was no king: And this was the high priest of the god Iu-
 piter, in such maner that he held only the name of king, & the
 office of priest. Having spoken of the name of king, now we let
 vs speake of the name of Emperour, that is to say, how it was
 inuented, where it was inuented, and to what ende it was in-
 uented, since it is the name in all this world most reuerced,
 also most desired. And although amongst the Syrians, the As-
 syrians, Medes, Persians, Grekes, Troyans, Parthians, Palestines, &
 Egyptians, ther haue bin princes glorious in armes, & in great
 estimation in their common wealths, yet they neuer obteyned
 the name of Emperour, either intituled themselves therewith.
 In those ancient tymes & in those golde worlds, the good men
 and the noble personages did not lay vp their honoz in vaine
 titles, but in noble, valiant and glorious acts. This name Em-
 perour the Romanes first brought into this world, whiche they
 inuented not for their Princes, but for their Captains gene-
 rall. In suche wise, that in Rome he was not intituled Em-
 peroure, that was Lord of the Common wealth, but that
 was chosen generall of the warre. The Romanes euery yere
 in the Moneth of Januarie, did choose all their officers of
 the Senate, and in their such election, they did firste ordeyne
 the high Priest, which they named King: then the Dictator,

Amongst the
 Romanes a
 Priest was
 called King.

In old times
 they did not
 boast them-
 selves with
 vaine titles.

7. names of the Romanes
N^o 26.
7 3 9

of sir Antonie Gueuara.

then the Consull, then the Tribune of the people, then the Emperoz, then the Celsor, and then the Edill. By this election it may be gathered, that the same which is now an Imperiall dignitie was in those dayes but an office giuen in the moneth of January, and ended in the moneth of December, Quintus Cincinatus, Fabius Camillus, Marcus Marcellus, Quintus Fabius, Annus Fabricius, Dorcas, Metellus, Gracchus, Sempronius, Scipio the African, and the greate Iulius Caesar: when they did gouerne the Romane hostes, were called Emperors, but after wards when in the Senate the office was taken away, they were named by their proper names. But after the great battayle of Pharsalie, in whiche Pompey was overcome and the field remayning to Caesar, it hapned that the comon wealth came into the hands of Caesar. The Romanes made request he should not take vnto himselfe the Title of King, because it was odious vnto them, but that he would vse some other at his liking, vnder which they would obey and serue him. Being at that time Captain generall of the Romanes, and therefore then called Emperour, he chose his name, and not the name of King, to doe the Romanes pleasure, in suche wise, that this greate Prince was the firste of the world, that left this name annexed vnto the Emperour. Iulius Caesar being deade, Octavius his cousin did succede him in the Empire, then Tyberius, then Caligula, then Claudius, then Nero, and Vitellius, and so of al the other Princes to this day: The whiche in memorie of the first Emperour be intituled Augustus, Caesars, and Emperours.

The office of the Edill was the master of ceremonies in triumphs and theatres.

How the name of Emperour was first found out.

Of the seven conditions that a good king ought to haue, with an exposition of a text of holie Scripture.



His name of King being declared, and the inuention of the title Emperour being spoken of (most Noble Emperours) it shall be meete that we declare howe a good king ought to gouerne his kyngdome, and howe the good Emperour ought to rule his

A. iiii.

Empire,

The beste of-
fice is to bee
holden by the
best man.

It is more
woorthy to de-
serue honoure
than to hold it

The ingrate
Prince is un-
fortunate.

What condi-
tions a good
king shoulde
haue.

Empire, for, being as they are, the two greatest offices in this worlde, it is necessarie that the two beste men in this worlde doe vse them. It were great infamie to the person, and no small offence to the common wealth, to behold a man earing at the plough, that deserueth to reigne, & to see him reigne that deserueth to go to plough. Wherefore (most soueraigne Prince) it is conuenient you vnderstand, that to be in hono^r is a thing of smal effect, but to deserue the same is of most great worthinesse. If he which is only a King, be bound to be good, he that is king & Emperour, is he not bound to be good & very good? The euil Princes be ingrate, and forgetful of benefites be they great or little: but the good Princes and the Christian Emperours, recompence euery service bountifollye. The Prince that is to God ingrate, and of the service they do him vnthankfull, in his person it will be seene: and in his kingdome it will appeare: because all his attempts do falle out confuted or with shame. And for that it shal seeme we speak not of fauour or at large, we will expound vpon the same a certaine authoritie of holie Scripture, wherein is shewed what a one the King ought to be in his own person, and how he ought to gouerne his common wealth, for it is not sufficient that the Prince be a good man, but that his common wealth be good: neyther is it sufficient that the comon welth be good, but the Prince also be good. In Deutero. 18. Chapter, God sayd vnto Moyses, If the people shal aske thee a King, thou shalt giue them one, but beware that the King whiche thou shalt giue them, be natural of the kingdom, that he haue not many ho^rsses, that he turne not the people into Egipte, that he holde not manye wyues, that hee gather not muche treasure, that he be not proud, and that he reade in Deuteron. vpon euery one of these commaundementes, so speake what myght be sayd, should be, neuer to make an ende, only we will briefly speake of euery of them.

Before all things God commaunded that the Kings should be natural of the kingdome, that is to vnderstande, that he should be an Hebreue circicised, & no Gentile, for that god would

not

not they shold be gouerned that honoured one God, by those that did beleue in many Gods. The Prince to whome it apperteyneth to gouerne Christians, it is conuenient hee be a good Christian: and the signes of a good Christian are these, when the offences to God he dothe chastise, and his owne hee doth forget. Then is the Prince naturall of the kingdome, when he doth obserue and defend the Gospell of Christ. For to speake according to truth, and also with libertie, he dothe not deserue to be king, which is not zealous of Gods law. God also commaundes the Prince not to haue many horses, that is to say, that he wast not the treasure of the common wealth in superfluous cost, in maynteyning a great house, and in sustaining a greate sumptuous trayne of horses, for vnto the Christian Prince it is more sound counsell, rather to seede a few men, than to haue many horses.

The good king doth forget his owne iniuries, and doth chastise the offences to God.

Notwithstanding I will not say but that in the houses of Kinges and of high Princes, many must enter, many must serue, many must liue, and many must eate: but that which is to be reprehended is this: that many times more is spoiled than is spent. If in the Courtes of Princes there were not so many horses in the stable, so many haukes in the melwe, so many gibers in chambers, so many bagabondes in pallace, and so greate disorder in expences, I am sure, that neyther shoulde they so go overcharged, eyther their Subietes so much greened. God in commaunding the Prince not to haue many horses, is to forbid him that he vse not excessive expences: bycause in dede and in conclusion, they shal giue an account vnto God of the goodes of the common wealth, not as Lords but as tutoys. Also God dothe commaunde that he which shall be King, do not consent to turne the people into Egypt, that is to say, that he do not permit them to commit Idolatrie, ne yet to serue King Pharao, for oure god God will that we adore him alone for Lord, and that we hold hym for our creator. To come out of Egypt is to come out of sinne, to turne into Egypt, is to turne into sin, & for this cause the office of a good Prince is, not only to remunerate the vertuous, and

In palace more is spoiled than spent.

The disordinate expences of the mightie is to bring necessitie.

The familiar Epistles

The secrete
is to be remit
ted to God,
but the public
offence to be
chastised.

The good
king ought to
impart his
goodes, but
not his con-
science,

Princes are
more viewed
and more ac-
cused than the
rest.

such as liue wel: but also to chastise the wicked and such as liue euil. It is no other thing to return into Egypt, but boldly, openly, and manifestly to sinne, the which the good Prince ought not to consent vnto, eyther with any in lyke case to dispence, bicause the secrete sinnes to God, are to be remitted, but those whiche are manifest the good king ought to chastise. When doth the Prince suffer any to return into Egypt, when openly he suffereth him to liue in sinne: that is to say, to passe his life in enuious renenging, to holde by force y^e which is due to an other, to be giuen to solow the lusts of the fleshe, and to dare to renue his olde age into wanton affections, in which the Prince doth so much offend God, that although he be no companion in the fault, yet in the worlde to come, he shall not escape to be partaker of the payne. For a kyng to gouerne well in his kingdome, oughte to be as muche feared of the euill, as beloued of the good. And if by chaunce any bee in his house that is in fauour that is a quareller, or any seruaunt that is vicious, I denie not, but vnto such a one, he may impart of his goods, but not with his conscience. Also God commaundeth him which shall be king, that he hold not in his companie many women, that is to vnderstand, he shal content himself with his Queene, with whom he is married, without vngodly acquayntance with any other, for y^e great Princes and mightie potentates doe more offend God, with yll example they giue, than with the faultes they committe. Of Dauid, of Achab, of Assa, and of Ieroboam, the scriptures do not so much complaine of their sinnes, as of the occasion they gaue vnto others to sinne: bicause very selbome wee see the people in a we of correction when their lord is vicious. As Princes be more high and also mightier than the rest, euen so are they more behelde & also more viewed thā others. And for this cause accordyng to my iudgement, if they be not chast yet at the least they shoulde be more secrete. Among the heap of sinnes this maye be one wherewith God is not a little offended. And on the other part, it is wherewith y^e common welth receiueyth most selander: for in cases of hono^r, none wil y^e they haunt.

haunt his house, request his wyfe or desloure his daughter. The wyters of histories do much praysse Alexander the great, Scipio the Affrican, Marcus Aurelius, the greate Augustus, & the god Traian, which onely vblew not to force women in libertie, but did not so much as touch suche as were their captiues & taken in battaile: and truly they were iustly praised for vertuous men. For it proceedeth of a more noble courage to resist a prepared vice, than to giue an onset vnder a cap of great power.

Also God doth commaund him, which shal be king, that he haue not so much treasure, that he be not scarce, or a niggard, for the office of the marchant is to keepe, but of a king to giue and to be liberal. In Alexander the great is much more praised the largenesse he vblew in giuing, than his potencie in fighting: the which doth clearly appeare, when we wil praise any man, we do not say, he is mightie as Alexander, but franke as Alexander. To the contrary of this, Suetonius writeth of the Emperour Vespasian, the which of pure miserie, niggardship, and couetousnesse, commanded in Rome to be made publicke places to receyue vnto, not to keepe the Citie more swete, but to the end that they should giue him more rente.

The diuine Plato did counsell the Atheniens in his booke of a good common wealth, that the gouernour whiche they had to chosse, should be iust in his iudgements, true of his word, constant in that he takes in hand, secrete in that he vnderstandeth, large and bountifull in giuing. Princes and great potentates for their power they be feared, and for their magnificēt liberalitie they are beloued. But in deed and in the end, fewe follow the king, not only for that his conditions be good, but because they think his giuing is much and verie noble.

Gods commaunding in his lawe, that the Prince shal not hoorde vnder treasures, is no other thyng to saye, but that all shall serue hym of good will, and that bee vnto all men of his liberalite: for that many tymes it dothe happen, that the Prince in being vnchearefull in giuing, it cometh to passe in proces that very fewe haue any mind to gratifie or serue hym. Also God commaunded the kyng that

The conditions
of a good
king.

should

should gouerne his people, that he should not be proude, that he should alwayes read in Deuteronomie, which is the Booke of the Lawe. And bycause we haue alreadye made a large discourse, we will leaue the exposition of these two wordes for an other day. There resteth, that we pray vnto the Lord, to giue your Maiestie his grace, and vnto you and vs his glorie, to the which Iesus Christ bring vs. Amen.

A discourse or conference with the Emperour, vpon certayne moste aunciente stampes in Mettalles, the whyche he commaunded the Author to reade and to expounde, wherein are touched many antiquities.

S. C. C. R. M.

Princes ought so to recreate themselves, that thereof ryse none offence.



O greate be the affaires of Princes, and so muche laden wth studious cares, that hardlye remayneth tyme to sleepe, or eate, muche lesse to recreate or ioye themselves with glad some pastyme. Oure forces are so small, our iudgemente so weake, oure appetite so variable, and oure desyres so disordinate, that sometyme it is necessarie, and also profitable, to giue place to the humanitie to bee recreated: vppon condition, that the truth bee not putte to flyghte or weakened. The sensualitie makes vs warre with his vices. Reason fyghteth with oure wickednesse. Our bodie contendeth with his appetites. The hart strimeth with his desires. For whiche cause it is necessarie to giue place to the one, that they bring vs not to oure ende, and to dissemble with the other, that they leade vs not to despaire. This I saye to your impertall Maiestie, for the magnificent meanes whiche your excellencie vsed to passe the tyme, whē it pleased you to commaund that I should be called to your chāber & presēce. And for a trouth, y recreation of princes ought so to be measured & limited, that they may recreate without offence to y world. Arfacides king of the Bactriās, his pastime was to knit fishing nets: of king Artaxerxes, to spin:

And

Princes ought to limite their recreations.

And of Arthabanus king of Hircans, to arme for Rats. And of Viantus king of Lidians, to fische Frogges. And of the Emperour Domitianus, to chase Flies. Princes (hauing their times so limitted, & also of all men so beholden and considered,) that imploy themselves in such pastimes and vanities, we cannot well saye that therein they passe their times, but lose their times. The case is this, that your Maiestie presently after you felt your selfe deliuered of your quartaine, commaunded to be set befoze you a certaine little table, all full of stamped metals, as well of gold, as silver, of brasse, as also of Iron. A thing sorely worth the beholding, and much to be praised. I did not a little delight, in seeing your Maiestie take pleasure in beholding the faces of those metalles, in reading the letters they held, and in examining the deuises they did containe. All which thinges might not easely be read, and much lesse vnderstood. There were amongst those stamped metalles, certaine that were Greeke, some Latin, some Caldee, some Arabick, some Gothick, and other some high Dutch: your Maiestie commaunded me to be to them, reade them, and the most notable to expound: assuredly the commaundement was directed very iustly, and in me more than another most aptly imployed. For being (as I am) your imperiall Chronicler, it is my part to render account of the thinges you shall doubt, and to declare the meaning of that which you reade. I haue beuewed them, read them, and studied them: and although some of them be very hard to be read, and very difficult to be vnderstode, I will traueyle with such playnesse to declare them, and euery parcell so diligently to examin and distinguish, that not only your Maiestie may vnderstand to reade the stampe, but also comprehend the blason and originall therof.

It is to be vnderstode, that the Romanes more than all other nations were conetous of riches, and ambitious of honoures: whereby it came to passe, that to haue to spend, and to magnifie their names, they bld warres sixe hundred and fortye yeares, with all nations and kingdomes. In two thinges the Romanes did trauell to leaue and perpetuate their memorie:

mozie, that is to wit, in buildings they made, and in their Coines they did graue or stampe: neither did they allotte the graving or stamping of any money, but vnto him that had ouercome some famous battaile, or done some notable thing in the cōmon wealth. The buildings they most vsed to make, were wals for Cities, caluies in high wates, Bridges ouer Riuers, fountaines artificially made, statues or greate pictures ouer gates, Bathes for the people, arches for their triumphes, and Temples for their Goddes. Much time passed in the Empire of Rome, wherein the Romanes had no money but of brasse or of yron. Whereof it proceedeth that the true and most auncient metalls be not of golde but of Iron. For the first coyne that was made to be melted in Rome of gold, was in the time of Scipio the Africane. The auncient Romanes vsed to stampe or graue on the one side of their money, their faces or a true most naturall, and on the other, the kingdomes they had ouercome, the offices they had held, and the lawes they had made.

In the auncient times yron was vsed in coyne.

And for that it shall not seeme that I speake at large or of fauour, it is reason I giue account of all I haue said. The letters of one of these stamped mettals doth say, *Phoro. dact. Leg.* Your Maiestie hath to vnderstand, that this stampe is the most auncient that euer I saw or redde, which appeareth very well by the mettall it is made of, & by the letter it is written in: for declaration whereof, it is to be vnderstode, there haue bin seuen whiche inuented to giue lawes to the world, that is to wit, Moses, that gaue lawes to the Hebrewes, Solon to the Athenians, Licurgus to the Lacedemonians, Asclepius to the Rhodians, Numa Pompilius to the Romanes, and Phoroneus to the Egyptians. This Phoroneus was king of Egypt before that Ioseph the sonne of Iacob was bozne. And as Diodorus Siculus doth say, he was a king very iuste, vertuous, honest, and wise. This was he that first gaue lawes in Egypt, and also (as it is thought) in all the worlde, whereof it dothe proceede, that all Counsellours and Lawyers of Rome did call the lawes that were iuste, and moste iust, *Forum*, in memozy of

of king Phoroneus. And so the letters of this mettall would thus much say: This is King Phoroneus, whiche gaue lawes to the Egyptians. The letters of the other stampe, *Genuci. D. vi. Leg.* For the vnderstanding of this stampe, it is to be considered, that the Romanes conceiued so great shame and disdaine of the filthinesse of king Tarquine committed with chaste Lucrece, that onely they would not, that in Rome there should be any moze kings, but also that the name of king, and the lawes of kings, should for euermoze bee banished, and in the common wealth forgotten.

So the Romanes not meaning to obey the lawes they had receiued of their good king Numa Pompilius, sent a moste solemne imballage to Grecia, to bring them the lawes that the Philosopher Solon had giuen to the Athenians. Which being brought to Rome accepted, and obserued, were afterwards intituled the lawes of the twelue tables. The Embassadors that were sent to bring these lawes from Greece, were ten moste sapient Romanes, whose names are Apius, Genutius, Sextus, Veturius, Iulius, Mannilius, Sulpicius, Curius, Romulus, Postumus: and bicause Genutius was one of those ten notable men, & for that great act so famous, he staped those woordes on the one side of his money. The whiche would say: this is the Confull Genutius, one of the ten men of Rome, that was sent for the lawes of Greece. The woordes of the other stamp following are *Con, Quir, Ius, Mos, Le, Obs.* To explaine these woordes which are very darke, it is to be vnderstood, that al the lawes of this world, are reduced frō thre maner of lawes, which is to wit, *Ius naturale, lex condita, & mos antiquus.* That whiche in the old time was called the Law of Nature, is, That thou wilt not for another, which thou wilt not for thy self: & also to shunne euil, & appoach to do wel, which is not to be learned by lesson, but by reason. *Lex condita* are the lawes that kings haue made in their Kingdomes, and Emperours in their Empires: Some of the which consist in Reason, and other some in opinion. *Mos antiquus* is, when a Custome by little and little is brought in amongst the people: the force whereof depen-

It is to be noted that all lawes are reduced from three lawes.

derth

Seuen maner
of auncient
lawes.

both vpon the well or euill obseruing thereof. Of the aboue sayd it is to be gathered, we call *Ius naturale* the lawe whiche reason doth direct: we name *Lex Condita*, whiche is ordayned and witten: and we terme *Mos antiquus*, the custome of long time vsed, and presently obserued: this presupposed the letters of this stampe do signifie, This is the Consull Quirinus, the which in the time of his Consulship, did obserue, and caused to be obserued, that which right requireth, lawe commaundeth, and custome hath brought in.

The wordes of the other stampe are these: *Populi. Com. Lu. Mill. fccc.* for the vnderstanding of these wordes is to be vnderstood, that the auncient Lawyers did ordaine seuen maner of Lawes, which is to wit, *Ius gentium*, *Ius ciuile*, *Ius consularis*, *Ius publicum*, *Ius quirinum*, *Ius militare*, & *Ius magistratum*.

In the old time, they did call *Ius Gentium*, to occupie that which had no owner, to defende the Countrey, to die for the libertie, to endeuer to possesse moze than others, and to be of moze abilitie than the rest. This was named *Ius Gentium*, because in all Kingdomes and Nations, Greekes, Latines, and Barbarians, this manner of liuing was vsed and obserued.

Ius Ciuile was the order and manner in old dayes, to forme their ples in lawe, that is to wit, to cite, answer, accuse, proue, denie, alledge, relate, to giue sentence, and to execute: to the end eche one might obtaine by iustice, that which was taken by force.

Lawes onely
for Romane
Senators.

Ius Consulare, was, such orders, as the Consuls of Rome did vse amongst themselves, for themselves: which is to say, of what number they should be, what garments they should weare, what company they should keepe, where they should congregate, and how many houres they should assemble, of what things they should conferre, howe they should liue, and to how much goods they should attaine.

This *Ius Consulare* did serue but for the Romane Consuls that were resident in Rome, for notwithstanding there were Consuls in Capua, they would not consent they should liue as those of the Senate of Rome.

Ius Quiritum, was the lawes and priuiledges that the Romane Gentlemen did vse or enioy, that did liue within the compass of Rome, or had the priuiledge of a Romane Gentleman: which is to say, that the Gentlemen and knights of Rome had foure names: that is to vnderstand, *Patricios, Veteranos, Milites, & Quirites*. The which foure names, according to the varietie of the time was giuen them.

The priuiledge or law *Quiritum*, that the Knights of Rome enioyed, was, that they might sit in the temples, they might not be arrested for debt, or pay for lodging, or prouider where they went, to be maintained by the common treasure if they became poore, to make a testament without witnesse, not to be accused but in Rome, to pay no impost in time of tribut, and also that they might be buried in an highe Tombe. All these preheminences no gentleman did enioy, but only such as were Citizens of Rome.

Ius Publicum, was the ordinances and constitutions, that every people in particular did vse amongst themselves and for themselves: that is to saye, how they should repaire their walles, conserue their waters, measure their streets, build their houses, prouide necessary thinges, to haue store houses, to gather money, to make their fises, to watche their cities. They called these ordinances *Ius Publicum*, because they were made by all, and obserued by all.

Ius Militare, was the lawes that the ancient Romans made, for the times that kingdoms did breake peace, and entred in to warres one with the other, because they esteemed much to be wise in gouernment, and to fight as men determined in order. The lawes of *Ius militare* were how to proclaim warres, to confirme peace, to take truce, to leuie their souldiours, to pay their Campe, to giue order for their watches, to make their trenches, to giue battaile, to retire their host, to redeeme prisoners, and how the Conquerours should triumphe.

They called these lawes *Ius militare*, which is to say, the order of knights, because they serued no further, but to giue order vnto those that did follow the warres, and with armes

The lawes for warre, they were used in Rome.

did defend the common wealth.

The first that
made lawes
for warres.

Comming now to the exposition of the *Stampe*, it is to be understood, y^e in the daies of the first Romane Dictator Quirinus Cincinnatus, ther was also in Rome a certain Romain Consull named Popilius Vastus, a man very well learned, and no lesse expert in armes. This Consul Popilius made lawes to be observed in warres, and gaue it in *Stampe* in his money: that which is conteyned in the *Stampe* before rehearsed in the letters, hath this signification: This is the Consull Popilius, which made lawes for the captaines, that should goe to the warres for defence of the common wealth.

Also it may please your Maiestie to vnderstand, that if any Prince or Romane Consull, did chaunce to make any law either necessary or very profitable for the people, they did vse for custome, to entitle that lawe by the name of him that did inuent and ordaine the same: for that in the wordes to come it might be knowne who was the author thereof, and also when it was made. After this maner, the lawe that they made to eate with dozes open, was called *Cæsaria*. The lawe that Pompey made to giue tutozs to Orphans, was named *Pompeia*. The lawe that Cornelius made for parting of fields, was intituled *Cornelia*. The law that Augustus made to take no tribute but for the profit of the comon wealth, was writte *Augusta*. The law that the Consul Falcidias made, that none might buy the dowry of any other mans wife, was nominated *Falcidia*. The law that the Dictator Aquilius made, that no Romane should be put to death within Rome, was cleped *Aquilia*. The lawe that the Censor Sempronius made, that none might disinherit his son, but if he were a traytoz to the Empire of Rome, was termed *Sempronia*.

The wordes do followe of the other *Stampe Rusti, prie, tris, pl.* For the vnderstanding of these wordes, it is to be noted, that y^e order whiche the Romanes did vse in creating dignities and offices, was as folloiweth: first they had *Kyngs*, afterward *Decemviri*, then *Triumviri*, after that *Consulles*, and the *Censores*, then *Dictators*, after wardes *Tribunes*, and lastely *Empe-*

Emperoures. Of their thinges there were but tenen, their Decemviri endured ten yeares, their Tribuni continued fortie yeres, their Consulls foure hundred thirtie and foure yeres, their Censor one yere, their Dictator halfe a yere: their Tribune thre yeres. That which was call the procurer of the people, the ancient Romanes did name the Tribune of the people, whose office was, every day to enter into the Senate, and to procure the causes of the people: and in such businesse as did not like him, he had authoritie to stand for the poore, and to resist the Senators. And for that the office of Tribune was alwaies against the Senate, and thereby passed his life in perill, it was a law made and capitulate by the Lawyers and Senators, that what soever man or woman did violently please to his person or unto his garment to offend him, publicly they cut off his head.

And be it knowne to your Maiestie, that many Romane Princes did procure to be chosen Tribune of the people, not for the interest they received by that dignitie, but for the security they had with the same: because not only they might not kill them, either in their clothes so much as touch them. The first Tribune that was in Rome was a certaine Romane named Rusticius, a man of a very sincere life, and merueilous zealous of his common wealth. This Rusticius was, and this dignity created, betwixt the first and the second Punick battails, in the time that Sulla and Marius did leade great bands in Rome, and did spoile the common wealth. Thus much the letters of the Stamppe would say, This is the good Consull Rusticius the which was the first Tribune that was in the Empire of Rome. Your Maiestie amongst these hath many other shāpes, the whiche being easie and facile to reade, and cleare to vnderstand, I shall not neede to spende the time to expound them.

The procurer of the people was most privileged in Rome.

A certaine relation vnto Queene *Germania*, declaring the life
and lawes of the Philosopher *Licurgus*.



Most high and serene Lady, this Sunday past, after I had preached befoze your highnesse the Sermon of the destruction of Ierusalem, ye commaunded I should recite, and also giue in writing, who was that great Philosopher *Licurgus*, whose life I praised, & whose lawes I alledged. In repayment of my trauell, and to binde me the moze vnto your seruice, you commaunded I shoulde dine at your table, and also gaue me a rich clocke for my studie. For so small a matter as your highnesse doth commaund, neither it needed ye should feast me, either giue me so great rewards: for that I attaine moze honour and bountie in that ye commaund, than your highnesse doth receiue seruice in the thing I shall accomplish. To say the truth, I had thought rather yee had slept in the sermon (the curtains drawne) but since ye commaund, I shall recite that whiche I sayd of the Philosopher *Licurgus*, it is a signe ye heard the whole Sermon, and also noted the same. And since it pleaseth your highnesse, that the Ladies and dames that serue you, and the gallants & Courtiers that attend vpon you be present at this communicatiō, that ye commaund them that they be not gibing, either making of signes: for they haue swozne to trouble me, or to put me from my matter. But coming to the purpose, it is to wit, y^e in the first reignes of this world, whē *Sardanapalus* reigned in *Absiria*, *Olias* in *Iury*, *Tesplus* in *Macedonia*, *Phocas* amongst the Greekes, *Alchimus* amongst the Latins, *Arthabanes* amongst the Egyptians, *Licurgus* was bozne amongst the *Lacedemonians*.

This good *Licurgus* was iointly Philosopher and King: & King and Philosopher: because in those Golden times, either Philosophers did gouerne, eyther else Gouernours did vse Philosophie. *Plutarche* doth say of this *Licurgus*, that he was low of stature, pale of colour, a friend of silence, an enemy of vaine talke: a man of small health, & of great vertue. He was neuer

We receiue liberallie from the Prince, when he commaundeth to serue.

Note the great vertues of the Philosopher *Licurgus*.

neuer noted of dishonestie, he neuer troubled the common welth, he did neuer reuēge iniury, he did neuer thing against iustice, either against any man but hie malicious woordes. He was in feeding tēperate, in drinking sober, in giuing liberall, in receiuing of consideration, in sleeping short, in his speache repoled, in businesse affable, in hearing patient, prompt in expedition, gentle in chastisement, and benigne in pardoning. Being a child was brought vp in Thebes, being a yong mā he did studie in Athens, and in the time of moze yeres he passed into the great India, & after wards being old was king of the Lacedemonians, which also were called Spartans, which of nation were Greekes, and of condicion very barbarous. For excellencie, it is recounted of him, that they neuer saw him idle, he neuer dranke wine, neuer traualled on horsebacke, neuer chid with any man, neuer did hurt to his enemies, neither at any time was ingrate to his friends. He himself wente to the temples, he himself did offer the Sacrifices, he himself did reade in scholes, he himselfe did heare complaints, he himselfe gaue sentence in causes of the law, he himselfe did cause to giue chastisement to offenders. This Licurgus was of a valiant mind in warres, of great deuise in time of perill, certaine in things determined, seuerer with rebels, in sodaine assaults of great readinesse, affable with offenders, & a mortal enemye of vagabonds. They say that this Philosopher did inuent the Olimpiades, which were certaine playes vsed every fourth yere in the mountaine Olympus, to the ende that all shoulde giue themselves to studie, or to learne some Art, because in that assembly which there they vsed, every man made a pꝛofe of his knowledge, and the spꝛite that was giuen him. Licurgus was the first that gaue lawes to the Spartans, which afterwards were called Lacedemonians: which is to vnderstand, before Solon and Numa Pompilius.

And also it is written of him, that he was the first that inuented in Greece, to haue publique or cōmon houses founded at the charges of the common wealth, & also endewed, where the sick might be cured, & the poore refreshed. Before the days

Of him that
brought vp
one dog fat in
idleness and
in the house, &
the other in
the field.



To be good, it
doth much pro-
fite to be well
brought vp.

of Licurgus, the Lacedemonians were a people very absolute, & also dissolute: for which cause y^e good philosopher did passe innumerable trauels, & no lesse perils amongst them, before they would be gouerned by a King, or liue vnder a law. On a certaine day before al the people, he took two little dogges new whelped, the one of the which he fedde in his own house very faire & fat: the other he comanded to be brought vp in a countrey house, with hunger, & to ble the fields. These dogs being thus brought vp, he comanded them to be brought to the market place, in the presence of the whole multitude, & shewing before them a liue Hare, & a great peece of flesh: presently the countrey dog ran after the Hare, and the pampered dogge to the flesh. When said Licurgus, you are witnesses that these two dogges were whelped in one day and in one house, in one place, of one Sye & Dam. And for that the one was brought vp in the field, he ran after the Hare: and the other that was brought vp in idleness, ran to his meat. Beloue me ye Lacedemonians, & be out of doubt, that to prone good & vertuous, it imposseth muche, from the infancie to be well gouerned and brought vp: for we retaine much more of y^e customes wherewith we be bred, than of inclinacions wherewith we be borne.

Licurgus comming to his old age, commaunded to call all the Noble and most principal of his kingdome, and being gathered together at the doores of his Temple, said these wordes: I haue knowen many yeeres since, how ye goe complayning and blaming me and my lawes, affirming & swearing that they are very sharpe to be obserued, and intollerable to be accomplished, and that iointly by my death there may end both the law and the law giuer, I will goe to the Ile of Delphos, to consulte with the God Apollo, if these my lawes be iust or vniust, and by the same God I do swear, to stand to that which he shal say, and to performe what he shal commaund. Wherfore, oh ye Lacedemonians, it is conuenient, that all you iointly do swear in this holy temple, that vntill I returne either aliue or dead from the God Apollo, you shall not breake the lawes that you haue sworn, the god God Apollo being witness.

ness. This good King and Philosopher departed, minding neuer to returne from the Ile of Delphos, and provided before he should die, a great chest of lead, wherein they should enclose him, and cast him into the depth of the sea, at the instant that his life should depart.

Very worthy is Licurgus to be praised, in that he would banish himselfe from his owne Countrey, vnto the ende his common wealth should remaine bound vnto good Lawes.

And the Lacedemonians are much to be commended, that haue so kept their othe, as if Licurgus were alive. Behold most serene Lady, the life that the philosopher led. Nowe we shall recite the lawes he did ordaine, the which although they were many and very good, yet we shall here repete but some.

The lawes that *Licurgus* gave to the *Lacedemonians*.

Licurgus did ordaine and commaunde, that all the billes, pastures and meedes, houses & inheritances should be parted, and equally deuised, to auoide tyrantes for being to riche, and the poore from complaints. He did ordaine and commaund, that if any were vicious or idle in tilling his land, or in vsing his inheritance, that he should not sell his lande to another, without selling himselfe to be slave therewith. All the Gold, the Silver, the Copper, the Tinne, and the Lead, he did giue to the Temples where his Gods were worshipped, onely he did reserue the mettall of yron, wherewith the people of his kingdome might eare their fieldes, and resist their enemies. The children that were bozne soles, dumbe, blinde, deafe, counterfet or lame, he commaunded their fathers to commend them to be sacrificed, saying, that in their creation, either the Gods were negligent, or else nature erred. Also amongst them he did forbid baqueting, affirming, that men lost there their iudgement with drinking, their grauitie with babling, and their health with eating. He did permit, that nine persons should traue together, in the reverence of the nine Muses: but vpon this condition, that if they would take, they should drink no wine, and

and if they used silence, they gave them wine to drinke.

Their wines were not planted to drinke in time of health, but to cure in time of sickness: in such wise, that they sold not wine in Tavernes, but in Apothecaries shoppes. They held scholes for childzen to learne, but no studies to learne Philosophie: for he held opinion, that such as governe the common wealth, ought not to be of those that read Philosophie, but such as did performe it in manner of life, neither did they consent that any Coyne should be current amongst them, but did make exchange, to beate for bread, wine for cloth, cloth for oile, and so of all other things, in such wise they chaged, but bought not. From the returne of the battell Marathon, certaine Lacedemonian souldiours brought home money coyned, wherefore the Magistrates of the common wealth determined to destroy the money, and to hang the men. Alcamenus and Theopontus, two famous Kings that were before Licurgus received answers from the Oracle of Apollo, that only for the vice of covetousnesse their common wealth should be destroyed. Also amongst them, the use of navigation was forbidden, as well for the wars as for their traffike, because they held opinion, that mariners did never serve God. Neither were subject to lawes. Also to no woman did they give anything in marriage: wherefore, commonly the women did take the men of most wealth: and the men did chuse the women of most vertue. In such sort, that amongst the Lacedemonians, none were left unmarried for their poverty, but for their lechewesse and want of vertue.

As concerning any crafts man that did live in their common wealth, he must exercise his Art according to the ancient fashion of the countrey. And if it chaunted any to attempt any noveltie, or new invention, they did banish the offender and abolish the devise. Five things they were commanded to observe, the which were publicly read with a loud voyce every day, after this manner.

It is commanded by the Senat of Licurgia, that thou shalt beate honour and reverence to the Gods, that thou be patient in adversi-

*
A notable
proclamation
daily made.

inuerſities, that thou giue obedience vnto the Judges, that thou accuſtome thy ſelf to trauaile, that thou reſozne from the warres victorions, eyther els dead. In one whole yere they might not weaue but one new garment, and if any man needed any other garment, he muſt not only haue leaue, but alſo thew wherwith he muſt buy the ſame. In certaine preſcribed times the Judges did ſearch the houſes, and if they by chaunce found ſpylde bread, rotten wheat, garments mothe eaten, fleſh corrupted, and ſuch other things ſpotted, they were not onely reſpehended, but publiſhly whipped: aduertizing the impoymment therof much moze conuenient to the reliefe of the poore, than utterly to be loſt. Being demaſided why he had ſozbiddē hote houſes, bathes, and oymments, aunſwered: that bathes did infeble the vigoꝝ and ſtrength of the members, and oymments did reuiue vices. Ambre grece, Muske, Storax, Siuet, Beniamin, and all kind of perfumes amongſt them were ſozbiddē: affirming it to be no leſſe infamy ſoz a man to be perfumed, than ſoz a woman to be manifeſtly wicked.

And vntill ſuch time that men were married, or of thirtie yeres of age, they did neuer ſeede or take repaſt but ſtanding, neither ſlepe but vpon the leanes of Canes: giuing therein to vnderſtand, to auoyd both delape and exceſſe of ſleape, and of meate. The annient men had libertie to enquire of yong men that paſſed by, whither goeſt thou: and what to doe: And if they aunſwered to do any good thing, they let them paſſe, but if otherwiſe, the olde men might both reſpehend, & alſo detaine the.

If any yong man committed any diſhoneſty in the preſence of an olde man, without let or reſpehenſion, he himſelf was chaſtiſed, and the yong man abſolued. And if it ſortuned any man to be taken ſoz an offender, in the market place he was ſet aloft vpon a Piller, wher he ended his miſerable daies: holding opinion, to be inhumaine to kil a man with Iron, but to permit him to languish that is wicked, to be a thing moſt inhumane. The diſobedient ſonne was chaſtiſed, and afterwarde diſſembled. When any yong man did encounter with an olde man, if he were ſet, he did riſe & ſalute him: and if he were

A right ſwoꝝ thy ſearch.

Bathes and oymments ſozbiddē.

The authoritie of old men.

The disobedient
some both
chastised and
disinherited.

A friend by
fraternitie.

New inuen-
tion, and the in-
uentors ban-
ished.

In honour vs-
sed to the dead
that valiantly
died in the
warres.

alone, hee did accompany him, and if he were negligent here-
in, the Judges did chasten him, and the people did reprehend
him. Their communalitie and fraternitie was so great, that
the nature of their children, the order of their servants, and
the commaundement of their slaues were indifferēt. It was
permitted amongst them to vse thestes, not that they had es-
timation therof, but to yeld vnto mens skill, aduise, and polli-
cie. For if by chaunce he were taken with the maner, he was
openly punished: also the cause of the permission therof was,
to moue men to be carefull of their goods. In their feeding and
diet they were very sober and temperate, taking refection
only to liue, and to sustaine life. For it was Liourgus opinion,
that the fat & gluttonous man, was of grosse indgement, and
of vnable and vnhealthy bodie. They vsed to sing with great
delight, and no smal friends of muscicall instruments, so they
held opinion, that the sweetenesse of musicke did recreate the
spirites, and the heart did undertake to loue. They vsed no o-
ther songes but such as were inuented to the praise of glori-
ous personages, that finished their dayes in great noblenesse:
or els to the dispraise of the wicked. They might not permit
or endure in their musicke, moze than in the rest, any newe
invention. Therpandas, in those dayes the most famous musi-
cian, so that he inuented to adde an other string to a certaine
Instrument, was banished, and his instrument broken to
shiners. To auoid the great superstitions that in auncient time
were vsed in building of Sepulchers, it was forbidden to bury
any moze in the fieldes, but neare vnto the Church. It was
not permitted vnto any person to raise by any sumptuous
Sepulcher, but vnto such, as in time of peace did gouerne the
common wealth, or valiantly had died in the warres. The
Lacedemonians were so great enemies to admit nouelties in
their common wealth, that they neither permitted straungers
to enter, or their people to wander into strange countries:
doubting to be entangled with new fashions and customes.
The father that gaue no learning vnto his childe in his
youth, did lose that succour that in his old age was due vnto
to

to him. Three things were in great estimation among them, whiche is to wit: slaues to trauell, Houndes to hunt, and horse for the warres. As touching thinges to be eaten, I meane fruite, herbes, and rootes, was common to all men to eat at full, but not to cary to their houses. Their apparell, which they vsed to weare in the warres, was dyed with the iuyce of Grapes, to the end the blood of the maimed, should be no dismay to the rest. The prayers they made vnto their Goddes, was to entreat them, to dissemble their iniuries, and to remunerate their seruice they did vnto them.

When they went to the warres, they did sacrifice a For vnto the God Mars, and at the instant to giue battayle, they did sacrifice an Oxe: To giue the Captaine to vnderstand, that they ought not onely to be strong as a Bull, but also subtle, wise, and prouident as a Fox. They painted their Goddes, some with a blunt launce, and other some with a naked sword: to giue aduertisement, that the Goddes did chastise some, and but threaten others. Their vsage was not to craue any thing of their Goddes, that was not of importance: affirming that al other smal matters, were to be obtained by mā industrie. Justice was so much obserued amongst them, that they vsed no lockes to their Coffers, neither boltes to their doores. It was not permitted amongst them, that one man should vse many faculties or occupations: And for that the Philosopher Chrisiphont, reported in his Oracion, that in euery Art he knew somewhat, they banished him, affirming that he could not proue a perfect Philosopher, that studied Sciences generall.

A letter vnto Sir *Alonso Manrique*, Archbishop of Ciuile, and to Sir *Antonio Manrique*, Duke of Naxara, for that they did chuse the Authour, for Iudge in a contention. A matter very notable.

Most high & mighty Princes, Sir Iohn Manrique gaue me these letters from your honours, signed & sealed toberin you gaue me to vnderstand how you had chose me for your cōsail & iudge vpon

upon a certain doubt wherein both haue doubted, and sufficiently contended. I my Lordes, doe accept the same, and doe declare my selfe for your Judge in this behalfe, upon such condition, that neither of you appeale from the sentence, and further, that ye paye the costes of the processe, and the penaltie ye shall be condemned in. But first I do note and blame your Humours, and in a manner reprehend, that suche contention shoulde rise betwixt you, for that betwene so high personages, conference is admitted, but contention utterly condemned. Noblenesse and contention did neuer accompanie in one generous personage, which is not so in the ignorant & contented, hauing betwene themselves so great parentage. It is conuenient to the Philosophers, to proue, to prosecute, and to maintaine all that whiche they shall speake: but to the good Knight it doth not appertaine to contend, but to defend. The Knight that is of a noble minde, valiant, and of courage, his choler is neuer inflamed, but in drawing of his sword. For he proueth very seldome valiant, that is giuen to be a brabler.

Gentlemen
may commen,
but not contend

For what
causes a Gentleman
may be inflamed
with choler.

But coming to the purpose, your Honours do write, that all your contention hath risen for the verisping, and the vnderstanding, which of these two Cities hath bene Numantia: that is to wit, Ciquentia, or else Monviedro. Likewise you write, you haue not onely contended, but also haue waged a good spile for him in whose fauour the sentence shall be giuen. Speaking with such consideration as is due to so highe personages, if the one do no better vnderstand to praye, and the other to giue battell, than ye vnderstand in Chronicles and auncient histories, in vaine is the one Archbishop of Cilic, and the other Duke of Naiara.

Helia is nowe
Ierusalem, and
Byzantio is
Constantinople.

Howe much distance is betwixt Helia and Thiro, from Bizantio to Mephis; from Rome to Carthage, from Agripina to Gades: so much is betwixt the citie of Numantia and Sagunto: because the most auncient Numantia: was founded in Castile: and the generouse citie of Sagunto, was situate nere to Valentia. Numantia & Sagunto were two most ancient & famous Cities,

Cities, and very much renowned and celebrate in Spain: the opinions contrary, in kingdoms diuers, in situations different, in names discordant, and also in conditions variable: for Sagunto was founded of the Greekes, and Numantia of the Romanes. The Citie of Sagunto was alwayes friend and allied with the Romanes, & moztall enemie to the Carthagians. But the Citie of Numantia, neither was friend to the one, or confederate with the other: for they neuer gaue obedience to any, but alwayes made a Seigniorie of it selfe.

The seate of the Citie of Sagunto, was foure leagues from Valencia, where is now Monviedro: & he that shall say, that, which we call now in Castile Ciguena, was in time passe the Citie Sagunto: it shall be because he dreamed it, & not to haue read it. Being Inquisitor of Valencia, I was many times at Monviedro, as well to visite the Christians, as to baptise the Moores. And considering the sharpnesse of the place, the antiquitie of the walles, the greatnesse of the colledge, the distance from the Sea, the stateliness of the buildings, and the monstrousnesse of the sepulchers, there is none, but he may understand that to be Monviedro, which was Sagunto, and that which was Sagunto is now Monviedro. In the fields of Monviedro and in the ruinous buildings that be there at these daies, there are found many stones ingraue, and many ancient Epitaphes of the Hannibals, & of the Asdrubals that died there in the Siege of Sagunto: the which were the linages of Carthage, very notable of blood, and also famous in armes. Neare to Monviedro there is a certaine place, that in those daies was called Turditanos, & is now named Torres torres: & for that they were moztall enemies of the Saguntines, Hannibal put himself in with them, and from thence did make his batterie, & did throw downe the title of Sagunto: not succoured then of the Romanes, or neuer after redified.

Behold here my Lords, how your contention was, which was Sagunto, and not which was Numantia: So that Soria and Samorra doth rather giue doubts, which was Numantia, and Monviedro and Sigonia, which was Sagunto. But the resolution

solution and conclusion of all the aforesayde, considering the merites of the p[ro]cess, and what e[ac]h party hath alledged, for him selfe, I doe say and declare by my definitive sentence, that the Archbishop of Ciuite, did faile, and the Duke of Naiara did erre, in the thing that both did consent, and lay their wa[re] ge[n]t. And I condempne either of them in a good Spule, to be employed vpon him that shall declare which was the greater Numantia.

I my Lordes will not recount and declare which was that Citie Numantia, and also say, who was the founder thereof, where it was founded, how it was founded, and what time it lasted, and also how it was destroyed, for that it is an history very delectable to read, worthy to be vnderstood, pleasant to recount, and lamentable to heare.

Which was the great Citie Numantia in Spaine.

Numantia
was named of
Numa Pom-
pilius.



The Citie of Numantia, was founded by Numa Pompilius, the second king of Romanes, in the fiftie and eight yeere after the foundation of Rome, and in the eighteenth yeere of his raigne, in suche sorte, for that the founder thereof was called Numa, it was named Numantia. In the old time they did much vse to name their Cities they builded by their owne proper names, as Ierusalem of Salem, Antioche of Antiochus, Constantinople of Constantine: Alexandria of Alexander, Rome of Romulus, and Numantia of Numa. Onely seven things there were of Romanes: The first of the which, was Romulus, & the seventh was Tarquine, of these seven the most excellent of them all was this Numa Pompilius, for he was the first that brought the Goddes into Rome, he did increase the bestall Virgins, builded the temples, and gaue lawes to the Romanes. The situation of this Citie was neare the river of Duero, and not farre from the head of the same, and it was set vpon the heighth of an hill, and this heighth was not of a Rocks, but vpon a certaine plaine.

Neither

Neither was it cold, yet not too hot; nor walled with high walls, in which it was compassed about with a double wall, which was inhabited with more than five, and less than six thousand houses, two partes of the which did follow the warres, and the third parte their tillage and labour. Amongst the Gentiles was much praised, and admired the gentile's temperance, & which is more, not covetous of goods, and yet very ambitious of honour. The Numantines of their naturall condition were more stegmatike than colericke, fasting, dissembling, subtle, and of great activitie: in such wise that that which they did at one time dissemble, at another they did revenge. In their Citie there was but one trafficke man, & that was the Smith, Goldsmiths, Silke workers, Dyapers, Fruiterers, Waxen makers, Fishmongers, Butchers, & such like, they would not consent to live amongst them: For at such things every man doth to have in his owne house, & not to seek them in the common wealth.

They were so valiant, and so doubtie, in the matters of warre, that they neuer saw any Numantide turne his backe, or receiue any wound in the same, in such wise that they did rather determine to die than to flie. They would not go a waile without licence of their common wealth, and those also must goe altogether and followe one quarell, for otherwise if one Numantine did kill another Numantine, he might after waile be put to death by the common wealth. Some kinde of people the Romans haue very fierce to fame, and very warlike to fight, that is to wit, the Mirmidones whiche were those of Merida, the Gauditanes, whiche were those of Calis, the Saguntines, whiche were those of Monyedro, and the Numantines, whiche were those of Soria. The difference amongst these waies, that the Mirmidones were strong, they of Calis valiant, the Saguntines fortunate, but the Numantines were strong, valiant, and fortunate. Fabius, Metellus, Sertorius, Pompeius, Caesar, Sextus Patroclus, & all the other Romane Captaines, that by the space of one hundred and foure score years held warres in Spaine, did neuer conquer the Numantines, neither at any time had to doe with them.

The human
being in the
so-called civil-
ized state is
not a creature
of the same
kind as the
wild animal.

[illegible]

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Amongst

Amongst all the Cities of this world, onely Numantia
 neuer acknowledg his better, or suffer the hands of any other
 for loſt. This Numantia was ſomewhat ſtocke, baſe copas-
 ſed, with out towne, not very well inhabited, and leſſe riche,
 With all this, none durſt bold hit for enemy, but for confe-
 derate; and this was the cauſe, for that the Fortune of the
 Numantins was much more than the power of the Romanes.
 In the warres betwene Rome and Carthage, Cæſar and Pom-
 pey, Silla and Marius, there was no King, or kingdome in the
 world, that did not follow one of theſe partes and againſt the
 other did not fight, except the proude Numantia: which alwayes
 made anſwerc to thoſe that did perſuade hit to followe their
 opiniõ, that, not ſhe of others, but others of hit, ought to make
 a head. In the firſt Punicke warres, neuer would the Numan-
 tines follow the Carthaginians, or ſanour the Romanes for which
 occaſion (as we ſay better) without any occaſion, the Romanes
 determined to make warre upon the Numantins, not for anye
 feare they had of their power, but for enuie of their great for-
 tune. From thence yeres continually, the Romanes beſieged
 the Numantins in ſuch great waſe the hurt the Numantins ſe-
 ceined, but much more meruelous of the Romane Captaines
 that there died. There were ſlaine in that Numantine warre
 Caius Crispus, Trebellius, Pindarus, Rufus, Venustus, Eſcaurus,
 Paulus Pilius, Cincinatus, and Drusus; nine Conſuls that were
 very famous and Captaines of much experience. Theſe nine
 Conſuls being ſlaine, with an infinite number of Romanes,
 it happened in the twelfth yere of the ſiege of Numantia, that
 a Romane Captaine named Cneius Fabricius, did ordaine and
 capitulate with the Numantins, that they and the Romanes ſhould
 evermore ſhould be friends, and in perpetual confederation.
 And in the meane ſpace, while they ſent advertiſement therof
 to Rome, they continued a long tyme. But the Romanes un-
 derſtanding the whole order, to be greatly to the honour of the
 Numantins, and to the perpetual infamie of the Romanes, they
 commaunded the Conſuls to be cut, and to proſecute
 the warres. Wherein the yere following, which was the thir-
 tenth

Numantia
 Rome was en-
 vious of the
 Fortune of Nu-
 mantia.

Nine Conſul-
 les were, ſlaine
 at the ſiege of
 Numantia.

The good Cap-
 taine ought ra-
 ther looſe his
 life than make
 an infamous
 tyece.

tenth of the siege, the Romans did sende the Consull Scipio with a newe armie to Numantia, the whiche being come, the first thing he did, was to deliuer the Campe from all manner men that were vnprofitable, and women that were leude of disposition: saying that in greate armies moze hurte is done with prepared vices, than with determined enimies. A yere and seuen monethes was Scipio at the siege of Numantia, all which time he neuer gaue battaile or skirmish, but only gaue order that no succour might come at them, or vitayles might enter to them. When a certain Captaine demaunded of Scipio, why he did not skirmish with those that came forth, neither fight with them within: He made answer: Numantia is so fortunate, & the Numantins so luckie, that we must rather think their fortune to come to an end, than hope to overcome them. Many times the Numantins did sallie to fight wyth the new Romaines, and it hapned one daye, that there passed betwixt them so bloudie a skirmish, that in an other place, it might be counted for a battaile. And in the end, the Romanes receyued suche foyle, that if the fortune of Scipio had not holpen, that day the name of Rome had ended in Spaine. Scipio considering the Numantins to encrease in pride, and the Romanes to discourage, aduised to retire his campe moze than a myle from the citie: because they should giue no attempt vpon the sodaine, and to auoyde by the nernesse of the place, the hurts that might happen. But in the end the Numantins wasting vitayles, and hauing lost many of their men, did ordeyn amongst themselves, and did make a vowe vnto their gods, no day to breake their faste, but with the fleshe of Romaines, neither to drinke water or wyne, befoze they had tasted and dronken the blood of some enimie they had slayne. A monstrous thyng then to see, as it is nowe to beare, that euen so the Numantins euery daye went in chase of Romanes, as hunters doe in hunting Coneyes: and with as great appetite they did eate and drinke the flesh and blood of enimies, as if it had bin shouldres and loynes of mutton.

In the warres vice doth moze hurt than the enimies.

The Numantins did eate the fleshe of the Romaines

Merie greate were the hurtes that euery day the Con-

C,

Full

To fight with
a desperate
man is no
small perill.

ful Scipio receiued in p[re]sige, because the Numantines like most
fierce beastes, with Romanes blood imbued, did not fight as
enimies, but as men desperate. Among the Numantines hee
was holden extolled that took any Romane alyue, and muche
lesse to giue him a buriall. For at the houre that any were
slaine, they did take hym, slay him, quarter him, and in the
shambles did waigh him. In such wise, that a Romane was
more (being dead) than alyue and ransomed. Therie manye
 tymes Scipio was perswaded, prayed, and importunated of
his captaines to raise his siege and to furue to Rome: but hee
would neuer doe it, neyther could in any wise ablooe to heare
of it: for at his coming out of Remo, a Pigromantik priest,
did aduertise him, that he should not dismay, neither ret[ur]ne
from that conquest, although in the same he should passe im-
measurable perilles, because the goddes had determined that
ende of the fortuniate Numantia, should be the beginning of
all his glorie.

Howe Scipio dyd take Numantia.



Scipio perceiving the Numantines not
to be overcome by prayers, neyther
by armes, he caused to be made (in
compasse of the citie) a stately ditch,
the which was in depth seue fadoms,
and in bredth five: in such sorte, that
to the discomfortable Numantines) nei-
ther mighte there any vitayles en-
ter, that they mighte eate, neither
they come out with the enimies to fighte. Many times did
the Consull Scipio requeste the Numantines to commend
themselves to the clemencie of Rome, and that they shoulde
credit and giue faith vnto his wordes, to which thyngs they
made answer: that since they had liued thre hundred and
thirtie eight yeres free, they would not now die slaves. Great
cryes did the women giue within the citie, greates clamours
did

The noble
minded had
rather die free
than lyue a
slave.

did the Priestes make vnto their Gods, with great and loude voyces did the men exclaime vpon Scipio, that he should lette them out to fight as men of worthynesse, and not to kill them with hunger like wretches. And said moze, thou (oh Scipio) being a yong man of Rome, valiant and bolde, considerest not what thou dost, neyther do they counsel thee what thou oughtest to doe. For to keepe vs in as thou doest, is but a pollicie of warre, but if thou shouldest ouercome vs in battel, it shold be for thee an immozall glozie. But in the ende the Numantins seeing them selues so infamously and miserably inclosed, and that now their vitayles fayled them, the moste strongest did ioyne themselues together, and killed al the old men, children and women, and did take all the riches of the Citie and of the temples, and heaped them vp in the market place, and gaue fire to all partes of the Citie, and poysoned themselves, in suche wise, that the Temples, the houses, the riches, and the persons of Numantia ended all in one day. A monstrous thing it was to see that which the Numantins did while they were alitie, and a thing no lesse fearefull whiche they dydde when they were a dying: Bicause they left to Scipio neyther gods to spoile, neyther man or woman of whom to triumph. During the tyme that Numantia was besieged, no Numantin entred into prison, or to any Romane was prisoner, but suffered death befoze he consented to yelde. When the Consul Scipio did see the Citie burne, and entred the same, & founde all the Citizens dead and burned, there came ouer his heart great heauines, and out of his eyes he poured out many teares, and sayde: O righte happie Numantia, whyche the goddes willed to haue an ende, but not to bee ouercome. Foure hundredeth threescore and seyre yeares endured the prosperitie of the Citie of Numantia: For so manye yeares had passed, since the foundation thereof by Numa Pompilius, vntill it was destroyed by Scipio the Affricane.

The Numantines did kill their wiues and children,

No Numantine taken prisoner.

The continuance of the prosperitie of Numantia.

In those old tynies there were three Cities verie enemies and rebelles to Rome, that is to wit, Helia in Asia, Carthage in Africa, and Numantia in Europa, the whiche three were utterly destroyed

destroyed, but by the Romaines neuer possessed & inhabited. The Prince Iugurth of the age of. xxiij. yeares came from Africa to the warres of Numantia, in fauor of Scipio, and did there suche and so notable feates in armes, that he deserued with Scipio to be verie priuate, and in Rome to be esteemed. All the Historiographers that wryte of the warres of Numantia, saye that the Romaines did neuer receyue so muche hurte or lose so many people, or were at so greate charges, neyther receyued so great shame, as they did in that conqueste of Numantia. And the reason they giue for this, is, for that all the other warres hadde their beginning vpon some iniurie, except that of Numantia, whiche was of mere malice or enuie. To say, that the Citie of Samorra, was in tyme past Numantia, is a thing verie fabulous, and woorthie to be laughed at: because (if stories do not deceiue vs) from the time that Numantia was in the world, vntil the time that Samorra began to be, there did passe seuen hundred thirtie & thre yeres. If Plinie, Pomponius, Ptholomæus, & Strabo, had said that Numantia was nere to Dwero, there had bin a doubt whether it had bin Soria, or Samorra. But these Historiographers doe saye, that the foundation thereof was nere to the head of Dwero: wherof it may be gathered, that seeing Samorra is more than thirtie leagues from the heade of Dwero, & Soria is but fise, that it is Soria and not Samorra.

There be thre opinions where the situation of the citie of Numantia should be, in whiche some doe saye, that it was, where nowe is Soria: others affirme, that it was on the other side of the bridge vpon an hill: some do aduocate that it was a league from thence, on a certain place named Garra: and in my iudgement as I consider of the thre situations, this opinion is moste true, because there is founde greate antiquities, and there doth appeare auncient greate buyldings. Those that wryte of Numantia, were Plinius, Strabo, Ptholomæus, Trogius Pompeius, Pullio, Trebellius, Vulpicius, Isodorus, Iulianus, and Marcus Ancus.

A letter vnto the Constable Sir Ynigo Valasco, in the whiche the Authour doth perswade, that in the taking of Founte rabie he first make prooffe to profite his wisdom, before he do, experiment his Fortune.



Most renowned Lorde and Captaine to Caesar, about the dead of this night, Peter Herro deliuered mee a Letter from your Lordship, the whiche although it had not come firmed or with superscription, by the letter I should haue knowen it to be written with your owne hand: because it contained few lines & many blots. While you

are in the warres, it is tollerable to write on grosse paper, with crooked lynes, euill ynke, and blotted letters: For good warriors doe more esteeme to sharpen their launces, than to make penne. Sir, you write vnto me, that I should pray for your health and victorie, for that at the commaundement of Caesar, you goe to bessege Founte rabie, which was taken by the Admirall of Fraunce, the same beying of the Crowne of Castile. Thys youre seruauant preaceth with such diligence for this letter, that I shal be forced to answer more at large than I can, and muche lesse than I would. As touchyng Founte rabie, I doe certaynly beleue, that within these two yeares, the takyng and susteynyng of it, hath cost the French King more than it would haue cost to haue bought, or else to haue buyt it. Whereof there is no cause to haue maruell, for that great Lordes and Princes do spend much more in susteyning the opinion they holde, than the reason that they vse. In all christendome (at this presente) I fynde not an enterpryse more dangerous than this of Founte rabie. For either you muste overcome the French king, or else displease the Empero. I wold say, that ye take in hand to deale with the might of the one, and with the fauour or disgrace of the other. To be a Captain generall is an estate verie hono-

In the warres it is impo-
teth dot to
write with an
euill pen.

More is spent
to mainteyne
opinion, than
to defende
reason.

valuable and profitable, although right delicate. For notwithstanding standing hee doo all that he can, and all that is mete to be done, if by the mishap of his sinnes hee giue any battell, and carie not away the victorie, it is not sufficient that the sorrowfull man doe lose his lyfe, but also they seeke some faulte, by the whiche they say he lost that battell. Be it that every man be what he can, and fight what he may, yet neuer to this day haue we seene a conquered Captain called wyse, neyther him that overcame, termed rashe. It is verie good, that the Captaines which fight, and the Physicians that cure, be wise: but it is muche better, that they be fortunate: For these be two things wherein many tymes wisedome sayleth, and fortune preuaileth. Sir you do take in hand an enterprise iuste, and verie iust: because from tyme out of mynde to this day, wee haue neuer heard of seene, the towne of Rounterabie possessed by any king of France, neyther any king of Castile to haue giuen it them: In suche wyse, that it is a conscience for them to holde it, and a shame for vs not to take it.

Sir consider well for your owne part, that a warre so iust, be not lost through some secrete offence: because the disgraces and overthrowes that do happen in such like enterprises, doe not chaunce because the warre is not iust, but for that the conductours thereof be vniuste. The warre the Hebrewes made with the Philistines in the mount of Gilboa, was a warre verie iust, but king Saule that had the conduction thereof, was a kynge verie vniuste, for whose cause the Lorde did permit that noble battayle to be lost, to the ende the kynge should be slayne in the same.

But as the iudgements of God are in them selues so high, and of vs so vnknownen, many times it dothe happen, that a king or prince doth chosse out one of his seruants, to make him general of an armie, to the ende he be honored, and his state more amended than the rest: And on the other side, God doth permit, that there where he thought to obtayn most honor & good happe, from thence he dothe escape moste shamed and confounded. Let it not be thought of Princes and of great

men.

No excuse
may excuse
losse of a bat-
tyle.

A iust warre
is lost by an
vniust cap-
taine.

men, that seeing they would not abstaine from sinne, they shall moze than others auoyd the payne. For God doth com-
 passe them in suche wise, that they come to make paymente
 in one houre, of that whiche they committed in all their life. In the house of God there hath not, is not, neyther shall be,
 merite without reward, or fault without punishment. And if
 it hap that presently we see not the good rewarded, eyther
 the euill chastised, it is not for that God doth forget it, but vntill
 an other tyme to deferre it.

An euill lyfe
 doth come to
 make repay-
 ment in one
 day.

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The Marshall of Nauarre with his band of Agramontenses,
 wee vnderstande is in the defence of Fountenaby: it seemeth
 not to be yll counsell, to make youre siege openlye, and to
 practise wyth them secretly. For although they be now
 seruantes to the French kyng: they shal remember they
 were subiectes to our Caesar: for so much as I finde in old Hi-
 stories, that this linage of Marshalls of Nauarre is auncient,
 generous, and valyant. And for my parte I doe firmly be-
 lieue, that the Marshall had rather serue Caesar his lord, than
 folow the French king his master. The good Scipio the Affri-
 cane, did vse to say, that al things in the warrs ought to be at-
 sayed before the sword be drawne: And surely he did speake
 most truely: Bicause there is not in all this world so greate
 a victorie as that which is obtayned withoute blood. Cice-
 ro writing to Atticus, dothe saye and affirme, that the deuise
 that vanquisheth the enimyes with counsell, is of no lesse
 worthynesse, than he that ouercommeth by the sword. Sylla,
 Tyberius, Caligula, & Nero, neuer could but commaund & kill, and
 on the other side, the good Augustus, Titus, and Traianus, coulde
 not but pray and pardon, in suche maner, that they ouercame
 praying, as the other fighting. The good Surgion oughte
 to cure with swete oymments, and the good Captaine with
 discrete persuations. For as for yron, God rather made it to
 eare fieldes, than to kill men. Plutarch dothe saye, that Sci-
 pio being at the siege of Numantia when they were importu-
 nate that he should bessege the Citie and destroy the Numan-
 tians, answered: I had rather conserue the life of one Roman,

The more
 noble victorie
 is that which
 is obtayned
 by counsel than
 by the sword.

*

Iron was
 made to eare
 fieldes, and not
 to kill men.

C.iii.

than

than kill all those in Numantia. If these words of Scipio were wel considered of the Captains of warre, peradventure they woulde leaue to bee so rashe in hazarding theyr armies in so greate and many perils. Wherof doth solow oftentimes that thinking to be reuenged of their enimies, they execute vengeance of their owne proper blood.

We ought rather to make
trpall by per-
swasion, than
by sword.

All this haue I sayde (noble Constable) to the ende that sith Cæsar hath iustified the warre of Fountenabie, your noble-
nesse of your parte should also iustifie the same: And the ius-
tification whiche you haue to make, is: First persuaide the,
befoze you come to besiege them, bicause it doth many times
happen, that the prayers of a friend may doe moze, than the
sword of the enimie. Of the good Emperoure Theodosius
the histozie wziters recount, that untill ten dayes were past
after he had besieged any Citle, he did not permit his souldi-
ours to make warre, neyther to misuse the neighbors ther-
of: Saying and proclayming every daye, that those tenne
dayes space hee gaue them, to the ende they shoulde profite
themselues by his clemency, befoze they should make use of
his power. When the greate Alexander did see the deade bo-
die of Darius, and Iulius Cæsar: the heade of Pompeius: and
Marcus Marcellus, Syracuse burne: and the good Scipio, Nu-
mantia destroyed: They coulde not detain their eyes from
weeping, although they were moztall enimies. For if the
tender hearted and noble mynbed, reioyte of the victorie, they
are griued with others spoyle. Belæue me (noble Constable)
that pittie and clemencie doe neuer blunt the taunce in
tyme of warre: And on the other side, the Captaine that is
blouddie and reuenging, eyther the enimies doe kill him,
or else his owne doe sell hym. Iulius Cæsar, not vnbeferned,
shall hold the supremacie amongst the Princes of the world:
and not by cause hee was moze sayre, stronger, valyanter,
or moze fortunate than the rest: but so: that, without com-
parisson, muche moze were the enimies hee pardoned, than
those hee overcame or killed. We doe reade of that famous
Captaine Narsetes, that he did subdue the Frenche, overcame
the

The blouddie
Captaine doth
finishe his
days with an
euill ende.
Iulius Cæ-
sar pardoned
moze enimies
than hee kille.

the Bactrians, and did conquere and gouerne the Germaines: and with all thys, dyd neuer gyue battayle to the enemies: but hee wepte in the Temples the night befoze. The kingdome wherein the Emperour Augustus moste delighted and ioyed, was that of the Mauritanes, whyche is now called the kyngdome of Marrewcos. And the reason that he gaue for this, was: bycause all other kingdomes he got by the sword, and this kingdome he obtained by entreatance.

It is more lo-
ued that is ob-
teyned by re-
quest than by
the sword.

If vnto my wordes it please you to giue credite, trauayle that Founterabye maye bee yelded, rather by composition than by force: For that in graue and doubtfull cases: firste men oughte to profite themselves with their pollicie, befoze they make pzoise of Fortune. All the rest that your Lordship bothe commaunde me, I will persourne with greate good will: Whiche is to witte, that I praye vnto our God, for your Lordships victorie. And that hee giue vnto me of his glorie. From the towne of Victoria, the. iiii. of January. 1522.

A letter for Sir Antonie of Cuniga, Priour of Saint Iohn, in the which is said, that although there be in a Gentleman to bee reprehended, there ought not to be cause of reproch.



Amous and moste valiaunt Captayne, yesterday beinge Saint Lucies day, Lopes Osorius gaue me a letter from your worship, made at the siege of Toledo: And of a truthe, I bidde muche reioyce therein: and no lesse esteeme the same, to bee witten of suche a hande, and sente from suche a place. For in the tyme of rebellion, as nowe, the knyght ought not to write from his house resting, but from the Campe fighteng. The Priest oughte to boaste hymselfe of his studie: the husbandman of his plough: and the knyght of his launce. In suche wyse, that in a good common wealth, the priest prayeth, the husbandman ploweth, & the knyght fighteth. He is not to be

In tyme of
warre it be-
meth not a
knighte to
write from
his house.

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Note & right
conditions of
a right gentle-
man.

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Is a gentle-
man a fault is
tolerable, if it
be not vile.

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The good
knight hath in
possession more
armour than
books.

accounted a knight, & is extract of noble blood, in power great, in jewels rich, in seruants mighty: for al these things in marchantes is many times found, and also of a few many tymes obtained. But that whiche maketh the knight to be a perfect gentleman, is to be measured in his words, liberal in giuing, sober in diet, honest in luying, tender in pardoning, and valiant in fightyng. Notwithstanding any one be noble in bloud, and mightie in possessions, yet if hee bee in his talke a babler, in eating a glutton, in condition ambitious, in conuersation malicious, in getting couctous, in tranells impatient, and in fightyng a coward: of such we shal rather say, to haue more abilitie for a carle, than for a knight: vile-nesse, sluggishnesse, niggardship, maliciousnesse, lying, and cowardnesse, did neuer take repast with knighthode. For in the good knight, although there may be founde wherewith to be reprehended, there ought not to be conteyned wherfore to be reprovied.

In our age there hath bin no tyme, wherin the good knight mighte better shewe his ablenesse, or to what ende hee is, than at this instant: because the king is out of his kingdom, the Quene is sicke, the royall Counsell is fledde, the people rebell, the gouerners are in Camp, and all the kingdome out of quiet: now or neuer, they ought to trauaile, and die, to appease the kingdome, and euery man to serue his king. The good knight doth now turne his glones into gantlets: Sutes into horsles, his buskins into greues, his battes into Hel-mets, his doublets into Varnesse, his sylke into maple, his golde into yron, his hunting into fighting: In such wise that the valiant knight ought not to boaste himselfe of his great Librarie, but of his good armorie. For the weale of the common wealth, it is as necessarie that the knight doe arme, as the priest reuest himselfe: for as prayers do remoue sinnes, euen so doth armour defende from enimies.

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Sir, I haue sayd all this, to the ende you shall vnderstande there, that we know here all that you do in your campe: and also, all that you do say: Wherewith you ought not to be grie-
ued,

ned, with every man dothe praise your wisdom, and magnifie your Fortune. In the register of some marvellous is the great Iudas Machabeus: the which when he was coun-
 selled by his souldiours by flying to saue their liues, even at the instant to giue battaile, sayd: God neuer permit, that we put our fame in suspitiō, but that this day we die all here, to keepe our lawes, to succour our brethren, and not to liue defamed. Great account doe the Greeke wylters make of their king Agiges, the which vpon the point to giue battaile to the Licaonians: when his souldiours began to say, that the enemies were very many, he made answer: The Prince that will subdue many, of necessity must fight with many. Anaxandridas Captaine of the Spartans, being demaunded why those of his arme did rather endure themselves to be slaine than taken, answered: That it was a lawe, amongst them much vsed, rather to dye free, than lyue captiues. The great Prince Bias, holding warres with Iphicrates kynge of the Athenians, when hee happened to fall into the scale of his enemies, and his souldiours beganne to crye, what shall we doe, he made answer: That you make reporte to those that are aliue, that I dye fighting: and I will say there to the dead, that you scape flying. Leonidas the sonne of Anaxandridas, and brother to Cleomenides, fighting in a certayn battaile, when his souldiours sayd, the enemies and shotte, arrowes so thick, that the Sunne was covered. He answered: Then lette vs fight in the shade. Charrillus the litle king after Licurgus, being in warre with the Athenians, when one of his Captaynes vnde aske an other, if hee dyde knowe what number the enemies were: Charrillus answered: The valiant and noble myghty Captaynes ought neuer to enquire of their enemies, howe many they are, but where they be. The one is a signe of flying, the other of fighting. Alcibiades a famous Captaine of the Athenians, in the warres he held with the Macedemonians, when they of his campe suddenly made a lation with great cries, that they were fallen into their enemies handes: he valiant and feare not, quod he, we are not fallen.

Judas Machabeus had rather lose his liue, than his fame.

To command many will cost much.

Note the word of a valiant captain.

To demaunde how many, & not where the enemies be, is a signe of feare.

fallen into their handes, but they into oures.

I thought good to recounte these fewe antiquities, that it may be knowne to all that be presente, and also notified to those that are absent, that amongst these so glorious personages, your noble worthinesse mighte be recounted: for that they neyther did excēde you in their wordes they spake, neither in their actes they did.

We haue here vnderstode in what manner the armie of Toledo did make their salve, to take away a great bootie that you were dying to your Campe: and many of your soul-dours did not onely begin to flēe, but also gaue you counsell to saue your selfe by running away: but you of your part, as a man of much courage, and a Captaine of no lesse experience, gaue onset amongst the enemies, crying: Here Gentlemen here, shame, shame, victorie, victorie, if this daye we overcome, we obtain that we desire, and if we die, we perform our duetie. Oh wordes worthy to be noted, and right worthy vpon your tombe to be engrauen: Since it is certain that you slew that daye more than six. with your sword, & with your noblenes of mind ouercame more than seven thousand.

Words worthy to be engraued on his tombe.

Of more value is the noble minded & expert captain than a great armie.

Trogus Pompeius doth saye many tymes and in many places, that the innumerable victories whiche the Romaines did obtain, were not so much for that their armies were of such power, but because their Captains were of experience.

And this may we verie well beleene, for we euery day see that the happie successe of a battell, is not so much attributed to the armie that fighteth, as to the captain that overcometh. The Assyrians doe muche glorie themselves of their captaine Belus: The Persians of Syrus: The Thebans of Hercules: The Iewes of Machabeus: The Grekes of Alcibiades: The Troyans of Hector: The Egyptians of Osiges: The Epirothians of Pyrrhus: The Romains of Scipio: The Carthagians of Hanniball: The Spaniards of Viriato.

Who was the ballat Viriato to captain of Spayne.

This noble man Viriato was naturall of the prouince of Lusitania, the which is now called Portingale. In his youth he was first a shepheard, afterwarde a ploughman, and then a robber.

robber, and in fine made Emperour, and of his countrey only defendour. The writers of Rome themselves doe recount of this balliant Captaine Viriato, that in fiftene yeares that the Romaines helde warre with hym, they coulde neuer kill, take, eyther foyle hym. When they founde him inuincible, and not to be ouercome in battaile, they ordeyned treason to kill him with poyson.

Viriato was inuincible in the warres.

Sir, I thought good to bring this Historie in remembrance, to the ende that in this ciuill warre, that we the Gentlemen hold with the Communers, that you shew your self an other new Machabeus amongst the Hebrues: and an other netwe Viriato amongst the Spaniards: To the end that our enemies may haue what to say, and your friends what to prayle,

But to let the conclusion bee, that you cease not to trauell (as you haue a noble mynde) to giue aduenture vpon your enemies, that you may also resist al vices: for men of balliantesse, as your worship is, fewe vices are sufficient to darken many victories. As concerning the reste, that M. Hernando of Vega did commend vnto mee of your part, which is to wit, that since you haue done notably in the warres, it maye bee remembred in the Chronicles. Sir, holde your selfe for happye, that if your lance shall be such as was Achilles, my pen shall be suche as that of Homere. From Medina of Ruissica, the 18. of februarye, 1522.

Fewe vices are sufficient to darken many victories.

A Letter to the Earle of Myranda, wherin is expounded that text of Christ, whych sayth: *My yoke is sweete.* &c.



Most famous and right noble Lorde and Master of the house to Caesar, your honoure requireth by youre Letter, that I should send vnto you the exposition of that text of Christe, which sayeth, *My yoke is sweete, and my burden is lyght,* the which you heard me preache the other day befoze his maiestie:

iestie, in the sermon of all saints, and that you delighted not a little to heare it, and no lesse desire to haue the same in writing. Also you write, it shall not be much for me to take the payne to send the exposition thereof, for that you came to visite me when I was Warden of *Soria*: in such wise, that if I would not perforce your request of courtesie: you would demaund it by iustice.

I will not denie, but that visitation was to me no small pleasure and consolation: for that the Monasterie is moist and y^e soyle cold, the aire subtil, scarce of bread, euil wines, crude waters, and the people no woles: for in very deede, if in other parts they iudge what they see, there they speake what they thinke. What which I most wanted, was not lacke of vitayles, but the company of friends, without which, there is neither countrey doth like, or conuersation that dothe contente. You haue greate reason to demaunde the visitation you vsed with me, and the consolation you gaue me: for the good friend doth owe no more vnto his friend then to remedie his necessities, and to comfort him in his aduersities.

Note what is
due betwixte
friends.

For so great courtesie, if I would vse liberalitie, I am not of power: if I would serue you, I haue not wherewith: if I would visit you, I haue no libertie: if I would requite or recompence you, I am poore: if I would giue any thing, you haue no neede. What which I am able to perforce, is to confesse the courtesie ye then vsed with me, and to accomplishe that, which you now commaund me, although it be not very great, it is not to be esteemed as little, that I holde you as my good Lord, and chouse you for my friend. For it is much more to gratifie a good turne receyued, than to recompence it.

Ingratitude
scldom or ne-
uer pardoned.

Vice for vice, and euill for euill: there is none in this world so euill as the ingrate man. And of this it cometh that the humayne and tender hart doth pardon all iniuries, except ingratitude: which he neuer forgetteth. Alexander in vsing liberalitie, and Iulius Caesar in pardoning of iniuries, to this daye there haue not bin born two Princes that exceeded, or else to be compared vnto them. And with this, it is readde of them,

them, that if they had knowen a man ingrate, Alexander would not geue hym, neyther Iulius Cæsar would pardon him.

The exposition of the text, *My yoke is sweete.* &c.

Sir, as concerning that your lordship doth say that I shuld send you the text which I preached vnto his Maiestie as I did then pronounce it, is a thing that I neuer vse to do, neither ought to do: for if it be in our hands to send you what we say, we cannot send you the grace wherewith we do preach: for y grace, disposition & vaine that God giueth in y houre vnto the tong, he doth giue afterwarde, verie seldome vnto the pen. Asclepius amongst the Argiues, Demosthenes amongst the Athenians, Eschine amongst the Rodians, Cicero amongst the Romans, were not only skilfull in orations, but Princes of all other Oratours. And isyntly with this, neuer any Oration that they made, would they giue afterwarde vnto the people in wrytyng, saying, they would not commend vnto the penne, the glozie their tongue had giuen them. For howe much difference is betwixte the drawen plat and the bailed house, the figure and the thing figured, the naturall and the thing represented: so much is betwixte the hearing of a sermon in a Pulpit, and the reading therof afterwarde in wryting. For in the wrytyng chiefly the eyes do vse theyr office, but with the worde the heart is moued. It is the propriety of Diuine letters, that being read, they be vnderstood, and being heard, they be tasted or sauoured. And so it cometh to passe, that many mo persons be turned to God by hearing of Sermons, than by reading of Bookes.

The grace that is giuen in preaching is seldome giuen in wryting.

The hearte is moze moued hearing the word of God than by reading.

But, I wyll doe that you commaunde me, and will sende you that you require of me, with a testimonie which I craue and with a protestation whyche I make: that yf it shall not seeme so good when you reade it, as it didde when you hearde it, impute not the fault to my good wyll, but to your impossibilitie.

But

But now to the poynt, Christ sayth: Come vnto me all you that be ouerladen and wearie, and I will vnlode you and refreſhe you. Eſay ſayeth in his viſions, the burden of Babylon, the burden of Moab, the burden of Arabia, the burden of Egypt, the burden of Damascus, the burden of the Deſert of the ſea, the burden of Tyrus: whiche is to be vnderſtoode, that he did ſee Babylon burdened, Moab burdened, Arabia burdened, Egypt burdened, Damascus burdened, and Tyrus burdened. The prophete Dauid dothe ſaye: As with a greuous burden I am ouerladen: as if he ſhould ſay, A mightie greate burden they haue laid vpon me. Of the premisses it may be wel gathered, & befoze Christ, all the old law was tedious and painful: & held vs laden & wearied, bicauſe it was rigorous vnto thoſe that did bzeake it, and held no glozy for ſuch as did obſerue it. In repayment of the ſpozal precepts they obſerued, the lawes they accompliſhed, the ceremonies they vſed, and the ſacrifices they offered, only God gaue them victorie of their enemyes, peace in their common wealths, health to their perſons, and goodes wherewith to ſuſteyne their families.

What greater burden might ther be in this worlde, than that he whiche did bzeake the law, went preſently to hell: And to him that did obſerue the ſame, they did not incontinently giue Paradyſe. From the beginnyng to the ende of the olde law, euer they laid on precept vpon precept, ceremonie vpon ceremonie, law vpon law, burden vpon burden, paine vpon pain, in ſuch wiſe, that all wer in burdening, but none in diſcharging. The firſt in this worlde that gaue comaundements to be proclaimed, that al the loden ſhould come vnto him, and he would vnlode them, all the wearied, and he would refreſh them, was Christ our God. And this was when in the molde of loue, he did melt that lawe of feare.

It is here to be vnderſtoode, euery yoke naturally to bee heauie, sharpe, harde and painefull: and the beaſte that bzeaweth the ſame, goeth bound and trauailed. And on the other parte Chriſte to ſaye, that his yoke is ſwaete, and his burden lighte, ſurely is a thing woorthy to be noted, and moſt high,

The old lawe
gaue puniſh-
ment to the
euill, but no
glozie to the
good.

Untill Chriſt
none proclay-
med reſt.

highly to be considered: Christ did not say simply euery yoke is swete: bicause otherwise wee had not knowen of what yoke he had spoken, neither what lawe hee dyd approue.

In that Christe said, his yoke is swete, hee did giue vs to vnderstand, that other yokes be bitter. In saying that his burde is light: he gaue vs to conceiue that others were heauy, in such wise, that he doth lighten vs, when he doth burden vs: and giueth vs libertie when he doth yoke vs: neyther did Christe saye, my yokes be swete, and my burdens be light, bicause our God doth neyther commaund vs to plough with many yokes, either to be laden with many burdens. It is the deuill that doth perswade vs to many vices: It is the woꝛlde that doth ingulfe vs in greate troubles: It is the fleshe that craueth of vs much excesse and superfluities. But the good Christ our God, doth aske vs no moze but that we loue him, & not to abhor our brethren. The law of the Hebrewes was the law of feare: but the law of Christians is the law of loue. And as they serued god of force and by feare, so we of loue and god wil: their law is called hard, and that of the christians swete.

For what cause Christe saide, my yoke is swete, and my burden is light.

The propertie of loue is to turne the rough into plaine, the cruell to gentle, the bitter to swete, the vsauoꝝy to pleasant, the angry to quiet, the malicious to simple, the grosse to aduised, and also the heauy, to light. Hee that loueth, neither can he murmur of him that doth anger him: neither denie that they aske him: neither resiste when they take from him: neyther answere when they reprove him: neither reuenge if they shame him: neither yet will be gone when they send him away. What doth he forget that dothe loue with all his hart? What leaueth he vndon, that knoweth not but to loue? wherof doth he complaine, that alwaies doth loue? If he that doth loue hath any cause of complainte, it is not of him that he loueth, but of him selfe, that hath made some fault in loue: the conclusion is: The hart that loueth entierly without coparison, much moze is the pleasure that he taketh in loue, than the trauell he passeth in seruing.

The propertie of a faithfull louer.

Perfect loue endureth all trauell.

Oh, to how greate effect should it come to passe, if being

D.

Christe

Christians, we should therewith be enamored of the lawe of Christ: for then surely, neither should we be penſiue, nor liue in paine: for the heart that is occupied in loue, doth neyther ſie daungers, nor is diſmayed in trauelles. The yoke that cat- tell do beare, when hee is new, is of him ſelfe very heauie: but after, when he is drie, and ſomewhat woꝛne, he is moze ſoft to be ſuffered, and moze light to be caried. Oh good Jeſu, Oh high miſterie of thee my God: Since thou wouldeſt not incontinent after thy byꝛth burden vs with the yoke of thy lawe: but that thou thy ſelfe, vpon thy ſelfe diſt beare the burden: and thirtie yeares firſt diſt cary the ſame, that it ſhould drie, and growe light, and be ſeaſoned. What hath Christ commaunded vs to do, that he firſt hath not done: what yoke hath he caſt vpon our backs, that he firſt hath not boꝛne vpon his ſhoulders? If hee commaunded to faſt, he faſted: if hee commaunded to pray, he prayed: if hee commaunded we ſhould forgiue, he pardoned: if hee commaunded to die, he died: if hee commaunded vs to loue, he loued: In ſuch wiſe, that if hee commaunded vs to take any medicine, firſt in him ſelfe hee made experence.

Christ doth not compare his bleſſed lawe, vnto Tymber, Stone, Plants, or Iron: but only to the yoke, bycauſe al theſe things may be caried by one alone: but to drawe y yoke of neceſſitie, there muſt be twain. High & alſo moſt proſou is this miſterie, by the which is giuen vs to vnderſtand, y euen at the preſent houre that the good Chriſtian ſhall put downe his head vnder the yoke to cary the ſame: ſoꝛthwith on the other part, Christ puts him ſelfe to helpe him. None calleth Christ, that he doth not anſwere. None doth commend himſelfe vnto him, that he doth not ſuccour. None doth aſke him, that he giueth not ſome what. None doth ſerue him, that he payeth not. Likewise none doth trauell, that he doth not helpe. The yoke of the lawe of Christ, doth moze cure, then wound: doth moze pardon, than chaſtiſe, doth moze couer than accuſe: doth moze ſcare, than weary, and alſo doth moze lighten, than burden. For Christ him ſelf, that commaunded to beare, he himſelf &

no

Christ did not
commaund vs
to doe, that
whiche he did
not firſt expe-
rience himſelf.

The worlde
doth moze cha-
ſtiſe than par-
don, but in the
houſe of God
moze pardo-
ned than cha-
ſtiſed.

no other doth helpe vs to cary. Oh good Iesu, O loue of my soule, with such a guide as thou, who can lose the way? with such a patron as thou, who feareth drowning? with such a captaine as thou, who dispaireth victoꝝ? with such a companion as thou, what yoke may bee painefull? Oh sweete lawe, oh blessed yoke, oh trauell well imployed, by the whiche wee passe vnto Christe: so, not only thou dost make accompt to bee with vs in all our trauels, but also dost promise, not to leaue vs to our selues.

He that in the garden of Gethsemany came forth, to receiue those that were come to take him: It is firmly to bee beleued, that he sayleth not to come forth to embrace them that come to serue him. If any worldly and mightie riche man doe contend at any time with a poore Christian, truly we shall finde, that the helpe is much moze that Christe giueth vnto his poore seruant, than all the cost that the world giueth to those that do followe the same. Those that the world coth leade vnder his yoke, to them he giueth al things variable, dismesured, and by false waight: but in the house of god, all things are giuen whole, entier, without counterpeyle, and most perfect. We may well say with great reason, that the yoke of Christe is sweete, and his burden light: so, that the world doth not so muche, as pay for the seruice wee do him, but Christ doth pay vs, euen for the good thoughts we hold of him.

Christ doth well see that of our owne nature we be humane, weake, miserable, soule, and remisse: so, which cause he doth not behold what we are, but what we desire to be. Moyse gaue the lawe to the Hebrewes: Solon to the Greekes: Phoroneus, to the Egyptians: Numa Pompilius, to the Romanes: but as me made the, & euen as men died, so they ended: but the yoke of the lawe of God shall endure, as long as God doth endure.

What may Moyse lawe be woꝝth in whiche was permitted diuorcements, and vsury? What may the lawe of Phoroneus be esteemed, in which was graunted, to the Egyptians, to be theuere? Of what value may the lawe of Licurgus be

In all the lawes of the world vices be permitted, Christes lawes excepted.

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accomplished.

various

accompted, in whiche man slaughter was not chastised: of what accompt may the lawe of Solon Solonius be reputed, in which adultery was dissimuled: Of what reputation may the lawe of Numa Pompilius be weighed, in which it was allowed, that as much as you coulde take, was lawfull to conquer: Of what consideration may we iudge the law of the Lidians, in which the maydēs vsed no other mariage, but vnto him that did win them by adultery: Of what iudgemēt, may we thinke the law of the Baleares, wherein it was commaunded that the bzide shoulde not be giuen vnto the bzidegrome, befoze the next kinsman had vsed hir: These and suche like lawes, we cannot say other wise but that they were beastly, bzutish, and vn honest: since they did containe vices, and by vicious men were permitted.

He that is entred into the religion of Chzist, to be in deede a Chzistian: hath no licence to bee pzoude, a theefe, a murderer, an adulterer, a glutton, malicious, neither blasphemous. And if we shall happen to see any to do the contrary, he shall haue onely the name of a Chzistian, but for the rest, he shalbe of the parish of Hell.

The Lawe of chzist is sharp vnto the wicked, but easie and light to the vertuouse.

The holy, and sacred Lawe of Chziste, is so right in the things it doth admitte, and so pure and sincere in the things it doth permit: that it doth neither suffer vice, nor consent to the vicious man, *Quia lex Domini immaculata.* The Hebrewes, the Arabians, the Pagans, and Gentiles, that besame our law, and complayne of the hardnesse thereof: Surely they haue no reason, much lesse occasion so to do. For the defecte is not in that thee is euill, but in that of vs thee is euill obserued. Those that would bee vertuous, of the pzceptes of Chziste neuer conceyue hardnesse, bycause the yoke of God, is not for their purpose that followe their opinion, but for those, that liue confozmable to reason. Finally: I doe say, that all that we do in respect of Chzistians, we are bound to do, in consideration that we are men: and to this end Chziste sayeth, that his yoke is swēte, and his burden light. For he is so good, and so magnificent, that he payeth vs as well,

for

so; that we do so; him, as though we were not bound to do it. This is it, that I vnderstand of this text. And this is it, that I said vnto his maiestie, when I preached thereof. No more, but that our Lord haue you in his keeping, and giue me grace, to serue him. From Madrid the .x. of June. 1526.

A letter vnto Sir Peter Gyron, wherein the authour doth touch the maner of auncient writing.



Illoria your Solicitor and sernaunt gaue me a letter of yours here in Borgos, witten in Ossuna the .xxiiij. of August, the which, (although he departed from thence in the same moneth) came hither the .xv. of Nouember. Your letters be so wise and so well provided so; that befoze they come out of their Countrey they will haue August and the grape gathering past. If it had bene potwized fleshe as it is a letter, it had good time to come hither very well seasoned, so; by this time it had taken salt. Sir, the letters that you haue to sende, and the daughters that you haue to marry, care ye not to leaue them far ouer peared: so; in our countrey they do not ouer yeare other things than their bacon, which they will eate, and their stoze wine which they will drinke.

Daughters
are to be mar-
ried befoze
they grow old

There is much lesse distace betwixt Ossuna & Borgos, than is betwixt Rome & Constantinople. And the Emperour Augustus gaue comaundement vnto al his Viceroyes that were resident in the East, that if they did not receiue his letters within .xx. daies after they were witten, they should not take the as receiued, although in processe they did receiue them, saying, that afterwarde there might happen some thing in Rome whiche were to be otherwise provided than according to the first letters. The Emperour Tiberius Cæsar, if the letters that came frō Asia were not of .xx. daies witting, & those that came from Europa of .xv. and those that came from Africa of .x. and those that came from Yllirica of .v. and those that came out of

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all

all litle of. iij. daies, he would neither read them, and much lesse provide for them.

Sir, it seemeth to me that you ought from henceforth to talke, indent and also covenant with your letters, that if they come to Cæsars Court, they make moze haste vpon the way: for (in daide) speaking the truth, & that with libertie, if your letters were wood of the Bines of Soria, as they be letters of Ossuna, by the faith of a Christian, they might come so dyie, & therof might be made both dozes & windowes. Although they giue me many Letters together, presently I know yours among the rest: the which come wrinkled like linnē, rusty like bacon, besweat like a doublet: & beside al this, to open & read them, there needeth no force or necessitie to teare the, for that the foldes come all broken, and the seales all to pieces.

The Ipmians
did write the
date of their
letters with
superscriptio.

Philistratus in the life of Apolonius Thioneus saith, that it was a custome amongst the Ipmians, to put the date of their letters with the superscriptio, to the end, if they were but few daies written, to read the, & if they were ouer yeared, to teare them. If (as you be a Christian) you had bin a Ipmian, be sure & out of doubt, that of a. 100. letters writte with your hand, 98. shold be tozne. And also I doubt, whether the other two shold be read. But since it is true that the Date of the letter is old, yet that the letters be good and legible, I sweare by the holy things of God, that it seemeth rather the characters wherewith they write musike, than the letter of a Gentleman.

If your Tutor you had in your youth did not instruct you better to liue, than your scholemaster to write, your life shold be no lesse disgraced in the sight of God, than your enill letter to my discontentation. For I giue you to wit, that I had rather take in hand to conser cifers, thā to read your letters.

With what
paper they
were wont to
write,

According to the varietie of time, so was the discovering of the manner of writing amongst men. For (according to the saying of Strabo) in the beginning of the worlde, first they did write in ashes, afterwardes in Kindes of trees, then in Stones, afterwardes in leaues of Laurell, afterwardes in sheetes of lead, after that in parchment, and at laste they came

came to write in Paper. It is also to be noted, that in stones they did write with yron, in leaues with pensils, in ashes with fingers, in rinds with knives, in parchment with canes, and in paper with penne.

The Incke that our old forefathers did write withall, was first of a fische called Zibia; after that they made it of soote of smoke, after wards of vermillion; after that of Cardenillio: in the end they invented it of gumme, galls, coperas and wine.

Note the incke of old time.

So, I thought good to recite these antiquities, to gather thereof (of this your letter) whether it were written with knives, with yron, with pensils, or with the finger. For, (as I thinke) it is not possible (at the least) but that you did write it with a cane, or with a canon. You haue to vnderstand, that the forme of your letter was, grosse paper, whitish incke, crooked lines, letters turned upside downe, and the reasons blotted: so that either you did write it by some light, or else it was some childe that beganne to learne at schoule. Although the letter came old, open, slubbied, rent; and all be blotted; is it true, that it was shorte in reasons, and setue in lines: no surely, but to haue little or nothing to write, it helde two sheetes & a halfe of paper. In such wise, that when I did open it and did see it, I thought it rather to be some citation wherewith they cited me, than a letter whiche any should write to me. The letters written with your owne hand, I cannot tell why they should be closed, and much lesse sealed: for speaking the truth, for moze safe I holde your letter being open, than your plate being lockt in your chest. For vnto y^e one a gardeviance is not sufficient: & to the other, a seale is superfluous.

I gaue your letter to be read to Peter Coronell, to see if it were in Hebreu: I deliuered it to maister Prexamo to tel me if it were in Chaldee, I shewed it vnto Hameth Abducarin, to see if it came in Arabian: I did present it also to Siculo, that he might see the stile if it were in Greeke: I sent it vnto maister Alaia, to vnderstand, if it were a thing of Astrologie. Finally, I shewed it vnto Flemings, Almanis, Italians, Englishmen, Scottes and Frenchmen, the which all did affirme, that either it was

Famous eloquence of the Tuctor in a base matter.

a letter in test, or else a writing enchanted. And when many said that it was not possible, but that it was a letter enchanted, or else infected with a spirit, I determined with my selfe to send it to the great Magromancer John de Barbota, instantly by desiring him to read it, or else to coniure it: who answered by writing, and also certified me, that he had coniured it, and also put it in circle, and that he could gather of the matter, is, that the letter (without doubt) had no spirit in him: but he advised me, that he which wrote it should be beheaded.

Sir, so that I wish you well, and am also beholding unto you: I aduertise, and also beseech you, from henceforth to vse some amēdment in your letters; if not, ye may comend them to John de Barbota: That your letters shall scape my handes, as good a virgin as Putifar's wife did scape the handes of Joseph, or the saye Sara the handes of Abimelech, or the Hebrew Sunamite the handes of David, or the Dame of Carthage the handes of Scipio, or Phocius wife the handes of Dionisius, or the daughter of King Darius the handes of Alexander, or Cleopatra the handes of Augustus: finally, I do say that I cannot read, or els you know not to write.

If the letter, sent by David unto his Captaine Iob, vpon the death of the unhappy Vrias, and the conception of the saye Bersabe, had bene of this cursed letter, David had not sinned, neither the innocent Vrias bene slaine. If the confederacie made by Escapros, and his companions, in the comiration of Catiline, had bin of such miserable letter as poures, neither had they receiued so cruell death, or in the Citie of Rome had they rayled so infamous warre: that it had pleased the diuine prouidence that you had bene secretarie to Manicheus, Ito Arrius, Nestorius, Sipontinus, Marius, Ebion, and all the other heretiks that haue bene in the worlde: so that though they had constrained you to write their excommunicate and cursed heresses: it should neuer, or any other haue found meane to reade them.

As Plinie in his naturall History, of Clebins in his Astrologie, of Pirus in his Philosophy, of Cleider in his Arithmetike, of Estiphon in his Ethiks, and of Codrus in his Politikes, all the

Notable examples of continence in Princes

Catiline a tyrant of Rome.

It ought not to be written that cannot be written.

the ancient writers doe most sharply complaine, because in their doctrines they did write somethinges the which are easie to be reade, but difficult to understand. In the Captaine'ship of these so excellent men: you may well set downe your launce, and also give three poundes of war to enter their fraternitie. For if their writings will not be understood, no more may your lines be read.

Many times I do muse, how with the antiquitie of times, and with the varietie of wits, all things have bin reuened, and many made better, except the letters of the A.B.C. in whiche, from the time they were first invented, there hath bene nothing added, and much lesse mended.

The A.B.C. holdeth xij. letters, eighte of the which Nestor found, and the other three, the captaine Diomedes invented, being at the siege of Troy. And surely it is a thing to be noted, that neither the eloquence of the Greekes, either the curiositie of the Romanes, or the vanitie of the Egyptians, nor yet the excellency of the Philosophers, both former, could find another letter to the A.B.C. to be added, or to be taken away, or to be changed. And although the humaine nations are in some part diuers, at the least, the letters of the A.B.C. throughout the world be found one.

As Solon, Harman, Cortes, Pedrarias, and Pizarro, haue discovered in the Indies a new world to live in: it may be, that you haue found out a new A.B.C. to write withall; but I feare me much, that none will goe to learne at your schole, if the matter therof be like your letters. I say so; my owne opinion, that you shall neuer come to any good market, to sell your land by such a list.

Now I will say no more, of the matter of your letter, but that you accept this of mine, as a warning, and therewith of your curtesie I do craue, from henceforth you keepe your letter vn-moth eaten: And that it may stand with your pleasure, to amend the imperfection of the same: for I haue learned to read, and not to diuine.

I did imagine with my selfe, that of purpose you had sent

D. b.

me

The mission
of the A.B.C.
C. d. of the
A.B.C. d. of the
A.B.C. d. of the
A.B.C. d. of the

me this letter in test, to giue me occasion to answer you in
test: and of very vnderwarthie you did write to me so, be-
cause I should answer to the same purpose: if happely it
were your intent, Sir you must thinke, that out of such pil-
grimage, you can obtaine but like pardons. *One thing I may*
Sir from this Court of Castile, be a few things more to be
written: although many to be marvailed, the Helles now
are, that many titles of Dukes, Marqueses, Carles and Vi-
countes the Emperour our Lord and Spillier hath giuen to
many of his kingdome, the which do deserue them very well;
for the dignity of the persons, & for the antiquities of their
houses.

The routes of
great Lords
ought to be a-
greeable to
their titles.

If he be desired of the route they receiue, and of the landes
and Weights, as they possesse, further things I do not enter
medle of: were not put to my hand, although it be true that
some of these noble men's estates be so narrow and strait, that
if it appertained to the Priors Hieronimites, (as it both to the)
they would thinke it was in a wall.

Rodrigo Giron, is a gentleman, and my speciall friend,
desires me of his owne part, and to commend me to you,
that I should speake to the gentleman Antony of Fonseca, up-
pon I cannot tell what, matter, or say, that you had vpon
a licence. Sir I haue dispatched it, as your authoritie and my
fidele life did require. Since that time I haue not vnderstood,
what hath ben done therein: but that which I can certifie you
of and affirme, is: If he do perseuer with suche diligence to
take order for your licence, as he hath with great earnestnes
played away his goodes: your worship shall as well be deliue-
red of auditors and of an accompt, as he was this other night
of gamblers at dice. For as one of them advertised me, he lost
no more but the cap he did weare: & the spurs vpon his heeles.

Gamblers at
dice play them-
selues to no-
thing.

There are, that do well resemble their owne, and do fol-
lowe the steps of their forefathers: for if I be not forgetfull,
I haue seene his father the Justice of Pais of Montanches,
many times kepe his chamber, not because he was sicke,
but for that in Merida he had played and lost all that euer
he

he had: The lord haue you in his keeping, and giue me grace to serue him. From Burgos the 15. of September in the years 1523.

A letter vnto Sir Ynnigo of Velasco, Constable of *Castile*, wherein the author doth teache the briefenesse of writing in olde time.



The fourth of October, here in Valiolid I receyued a letter from your honour, wzitten in Villorado the thirtieth of September: and considering the distance from hence thither, and the small tarying of your letter from thence hither, to my iudgement, if it had bin a fronte, it had come hither very fresh. Pirrus the King of the Epirotes was the first that inuented curreys or postes: and in this case, he was a Prince so vigilant, that hauing thre armies spzed in diuers partes, his seate or pallace being in the Citie of Tarento: in one day he vnderstood from Rome: in two dayes out of Fraunce: in thre out of Germany: and in foure out of Asia. In such sorte, that his messengers did rather seeme to flie, than other wise.

Postes in old time made great speede.

The hart of man is such an inuentoꝝ of new thinges, and so farre in loue with nouelties, that the moze straunge the thing is they say or wright vnto vs, so much the moze we do reioyce and delight therein: so that olde thinges do giue lothsome nesse, and new thinges do awaken the spirites. This vantage you haue (that can do much) of them that haue but little, that in short time you wright whether you will, and vnderstand from whence you think good: although also it is most true, that sometime you vnderstand some newes within thre dayes, which you would not haue knowen in thre yeares.

Euill newes neuer cometh to late.

There is no pleasure, loye, or delight, in this woꝝld, that with it byingeth not some inconuenience: in such wise, that that wherin long time we haue had delight, in one day we pay and yelde againe.

Sir

Sir I haue saide thus muche, to the end to continue your good opinion towards Mosen Ruben, your Steward: whiche by the date of your letter, dothe seeme to haue made greatespcede, and to haue slept very little, for he brought the letter so freshe, that it seemed the inke to be scarce drie.

You write vnto me, that I should certesse you, what is the cause, that I being descended of a linage so auncient, of body so high, in the momentes of my prayers so long, and in preaching so large, how I am in writing so bzielse: especially in my last letter, that I sent from the monasterie of Fres Dell Vall; when I was there preaching vnto Cesar: whiche you say, did containe but foure reasons, and eight lines.

Sir in these things, that you haue written, you haue giuen me matter, not to answer very short. And if by chaunce I shall so doe from henceforth, I say and protest, it shalbe moze for your pleasure than for mine owne contentation.

As concerning that you say my linage is auncient, your lordship doth well knowe, that my graundfather was called sir Beltran of Gueuara: my father also was named sir Beltran of Gueuara: and my Cousin was called sir Ladron of Gueuara, and that I am now named sir Antony of Gueuara: yea and also your Lordship doth know, that first there were Charles in Gueuara, befoze there were Kings in Castile.

This linage of Gueuara, byingeth his antiquitie out of Britaine: and dothe containe sixe houses of honour, in Castile: whiche is to wete, the Earle of Onate, in Alaua: sir Ladron of Gueuara, in Valldalega: sir Peter Velez of Gueuara in Salinas: sir Diego of Gueuara in Paradilla: sir Charles of Gueuara in Murcia: sir Beltran of Gueuara in Morata. All which be valiant of persones, although poze in estates & rentes: in such sorte, that those of this linage of Gueuara, do moze aduance themselves of their antiquitie, from whence they are descended, than of the goods which they possesse.

The auctor
reporteth of
his linage of
Gueuara.

To descend of
a noble bloud,
prouoketh to
be vertuous.

A man to descend, of a delicate bloud, and to haue noble or Generous parents: doth muche profite to honour vs, and doth not blante the launce to defende vs: for that infamie doth

both tempt vs to be desperate: and the honour, to mende our estate. Christ and his Mother would not descend of the tribe of Benjamin, whiche was the least, but of the tribe of Iuda, which was the greater and the better.

They had a law in Rome, named Proſapia, which is to say, the law of linages, by which it was ordained and commanded in Rome, that when contention did arise in the senate for the consularship, that those which descended of the lineage of the Siluians, of the Torquations, and of the Fabritians, should obtain chiefe place before all others: and this was done after this manner, for that these three linages in Rome were most ancient, and did descend of right valiant Romaines.

They whiche descended of Cato in Athenes: of Licurgus in Lacedemonia: of Cato in Utica: of Ageſilaus in Licaonia: and of Tullides in Galacia: were not onely privileged in their provinces, but also amongst all nations much honozed. And this was not so much for the desert of those that were living, as for the merite of the ancient personages that were dead.

Also it was a lawe in Rome, that all those that descended of the Tarquines, of the Escaurians, Catelines, Fabatians, and Bithinians, had no offices in the common wealth: neither yet might dwell within the compasse of Rome. And this was done for the hate they bare to King Tarquin, the Consul Escaurus, the tyrant Catiline, the Censor Fabatus, and the trayfour Bithinius: all which were in their liues very vnbonest, and in their gouernement very offensive.

Sir, I say this, because a man to be euill, descending from the good, surely it is a great infamie: but to descend of the good, and to be good, is no small glorie. But in fine, it is with men as it is with wines: sometime he saues of the good soyle, sometime of the caske, & others of the goodnesse of the grapes. A minde not to flie, a noblenesse in giuing, swete and courteous in speech, an heart for to aduerture, and elemencie to pardon: graces and vertues be these, that are rarely founde in a man of base soyle. And many times suche one is extract of an ancient and Noble linage. As the woꝛde nowe goeth,

upon

The ancient and noble Linages in Rome were much esteemed.

In Rome they bare no office that descended of traitours.

The properties of a man born of a good linage.

Upon who art thou, and what art thou, it doth not seeme to me, a man may haue better blason in his house; than to be, and also descended of a bloud vnspotted. For that such a man shall haue whereof to commend himself: and not wherefoze to be despised or taunted.

A note of the
Giants of the
old time.

Sir also you say in your letter, that I am in body large, high, drie, and very straight: of which properties I haue not whereof to complaine, but wherefoze to prayse my self. Because the wood that is large, drie, and straight, is moze esteemed, and bought at a greater price. If the greatnesse of bodie displeased God, hee had neuer created Paulus the Numidian, Hercules the Grecian, Amilon the wilde woodman, Sampson the Hebrew, Pindarus the Thebane, Hermonius the Corinth, nor Hena the Ethicke: whiche were in the greatnesse of their bodies, so monstrous, and so fearefull, that other men seemed in their presence, as Crikets or Grasshoppers do seeme befoze men.

The first King of Israell, which was Saule, how much difference is betwixt the shoulders and the crowne of the head, so much was he bigger than all the men of his kingdome.

The great Iulius Caesar, was of bodie high and leane, although of face, not very faire. It is sayd of Augustus the Emperour, that he was so highe of stature, that of the high trees, with his owne hands he did gather fruite.

Also it is witten of the Consull Silla, that his greatnesse was so excessive, as hee alwayes stouped to enter at euery doore.

Titus Liuius sayth, that Scipio the Affrican was of so great a stature, that none was equall to him in minde, neither did passe him in heighth of bodie.

The difference
betwixt the
great and litle
men.

Plutarch sayth of Alexander the Great, that according vnto such a minde as he possessed, vnto the world it did seeme they had moze than inough of Alexander: and to Alexander it did seeme, that for himselfe the whole world was not sufficient.

Sir this do I say in the ende, hereby to consider holwe the heart of man may be contained in a litle bodie: Since vnto it

it, the whole world seemeth very straight : A man, to be very great or very little : of these two inconueniences, the lesse is to be great, bycause the large garment easely is made lesse, but that whiche is too little without blemish or defozmitie, cannot be made greater.

Allonso Henricus, Aluergomes, Salaia, Valderrauano, and Figueroa, whiche be little of bodie, although not of minde, euer as I see them go in Court, seeme to me to be proude, furious, troubled, and angrie. And of this I do not much meruaile : bycause little chimneys alwayes be somewhat sumishe or smokie.

In the Monastery of Toros, of Guisando, I found there a very little Frier, whiche so that I knockt thrice arowe, he did byaule with me very frowardly, and when I sayde vnto him, that he had little pacience, he made me aunswere, that I had lesse good maner : I intreated him to giue me some drinke, and that we might cease chiding, where vnto he answered : Brother, although you see me, you knowe me not : I giue you to vnderstand, that I am, as you see but little, but there withall I am a peece of Steele, and suche greate men and vniwelvie as you are, if they speake to me by day, by night they dreame of me : so that other day I caused my self to be measured, and founde the heart to haue aduantage of the body five yardes in measure, whereunto I replied : father, therof is great necessity, that the heart haue five yardes of measure in heighth, since in all your body there is not two Cubites and a half: but after the father heard this, he ceased to chide, and also left me without drinke.

Of a little Frier of the Abbay of Guisando.

Sir beleue me, the short haquebuts soonest bzeake, the smallest fortres be soonest besieged : the shallowest Seas do soonest drowne : in the narrowest waies is greatest peril : the strayte garments be soonest rent : and little men be soonest angrie.

In little beasts, there is not such strenght neither such grace as in the great : bycause the Elephant, the Dromedary, the Ox, the Bul, & the Horse, which be great beasts do profite for service. But the Flie, the Rat, the Flea, the Grasshopper, and the

Little things giue more of sense than profite.

the Critike serue not but onely to offend.

And also you note me, that in saying of seruice I am very long, and in contemplation not short, and likewise as tedious therein as M. Prexmus in telling his tale. But I promise your Lordship, that if I be long in prayer, your Lordshippe is not short in communication: for many times I haue seene you begin a long tale that I neuer durst tary the end therof: for if I had so done, either I should come to the court at none, or goe to bed at midnight.

Sir I do conferre the moments of my contemplations, with the sinnes of my life, and I do find by my rekoning, that it is not a iust thing to be large in sinning, and short in praying. The maker and redeemer of the worlde, did vse great measure in all things, except in praying: wherein he was alwayes long, which he shewed most clearly in the garden of Gethsemany, where, how much the more the agony did oppresse him, so much the more did he enlarge his prayer.

Also your Lordship doth say, that in preaching I am long and tedious, wherto I answer: that in the whole worlde there is no long sermon, if the hearer do giue eare as a Christian, and not as to curious. I remember the lent past being with your Lordship, they presented vnto your honour, certaine Sermons of Penia Melera, whiche you praised for very good, and yet complained that they were very little. In such sorte that your Sermons are neuer sufficiently large, or sermons short inough.

I life is obser-
ued in nothing
but in sermons.

It is thirtie eight yeares since I was brought to Cæsars Court, during which time, I haue seene all things increasing, except sermons, which alwayes doe stand at one staye. This seemeth to be true, for that in our eating we adde more time, in our sleeping we consume more houres, all our garmentes hold more cloth, our houses are more large, our expences more excessive, our apparell more costly, and the men more vicious. Finally, I say that in our talkke, or in any other thing no tyme is suffered, but in sermons whiche must not passe a boue an hower,

Calheras

Theras your Lordship saith, I am to shoyt in wryting to this I aunswere, that if I be not deceyved, to talke therewith both but a certayne limelinde, but to wryte, it is necessary to haue muche wisdom: because, to proue if a man be wisd or folish, there is no other way, than to put a pair of spares to his heeles, or a pen in his hand.

More graue
is required
in wryting, than
in talking.

In all things I confesse my selfe to be large, except in wryting, which I repent nothing: for an incon sidered word, I may incontinent reuoke: but the firme of my hand I can not denie. To speake something with too much simplicitie or inconsidered, is a haplesnesse, but to firme it with the hand, is more folly.

Salust saith, that if the tyrant Catilene and other his felowes had not firm'd the letter of their confuration (although they were accus'd) they had not bene condemned: in such wise, that as well killeth the penne as the saunce. If Lactius, Pharaoh, Plinie, Vegetius, Sulpitius, and Eutropius doe not deceiue vs by their histories: many Poetes, Orators, Philosophers, Kings, & Princes, haue bin in the worlde past, of whome it is read, that in their talke they were very large, but in their wrytings very considerate.

Cesar in a letter that he did wryte from the Persicke warres of Rome, say no more but these wordes, *Veni, vidi, & vici*, I came, I haue scene, and I ouercame.

Note the bres
tie of ancient
wryting.

Octavius the Emperour, wryting vnto his Cousin Caius Drusius, said thus: For that thou art in Illiria, remember thou art of the Cesars, that the Senat hath sent thee, and that thou art a yong man, my nephew, and a Citizen of Rome.

The Emperour Tiberius wryting vnto his brother german, said thus: The Temples be reuerenced, the Gods be seru'd, the Senate in peace, the common wealthe in prosperitie, Rome in health, Fortune gentle, and the yeare fertile: this is here in Italy, the same we desire vnto thee in Asia.

Cicero wryting vnto Cornelius sayeth thus: Be thou merry since I am not euill, for likewise I shall reioyce, if thou be well.

C.

The

Exord. Atolp. 543
1.
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1. The divine Plato, writing from Athens unto Dionysius the tyrant, saith thus: To kill thy brother, to remaine more cruell, to force thy people, to forget me thy friende, and to take Phocion as an enemye, he workes of a tyrant.

4.
5.

The great Pompeius writing from the East unto the Senate, saith thus: Conscript Fathers, Damascus is taken, Penapolis is subiect, Syria, Colonia, and Arabia is confederate, and Palestina is overcome.

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The Consull Cneius Siluius, writing newes of the battel of Pharsalia unto Rome, saith thus: Caesar did overcome, Pompeius is dead, Rufus is fled, Cato killed himselfe, the gouernement of Dictator is ended and the libertie lost.

Behold Sir, the manner that the ancients used in writing to their peculiar friends, which with their breuitie gaue vnto all men wheresofoe to be noted, but we in neuer making an end, giue large occasion to be corrected. No more, but that I pray the Lord to be your protectoꝝ, and giue me grate to serue him. From Valiodolid, the eight of October, in the yere: 1525.

A letter vnto the Marques of Pescara, wherein the Author doth touch, what a Captaine ought to be in the warres.

Being with Caesar in Madrid the xxiij. of March, I receiued a letter from your Lordship, written the xij. of January: and God be my witness, that when I sawe and read it, I would rather the date thereof had bin, not from the siege of Marcellus, but from the conquest of Ierusalem. For, if it were from Asia, and not from France, your journey should be more famous and magnified, and of God much more accepted.

Titus Livius reporteth of no small variance betwixt Mar. Marcellus, and Quintus Fabius, which did arise vpon the Consulships of the warres, so that the god Mar. Marcellus would not be Captaine of the warre, which was not very well iustified. And Quintus Fabius did not accept to go to the warres, were

were it not very dangerous. The Romanes were in a mar-
 nelous vaine gloze in that wayde, when these two noble
 Princes were bozne: but in the ende, muche moze was the
 estimation of Marcus Marcellus (for being iust) than of Quintus
 Fab. for being valiant.

The Romanes were neuer so foyle, or euer did incurre so
 muche dishonoz in the warres of Asia, either in Africa, as they
 receiued at the siege of Numantia. And this was not for be-
 faulte of batterie, eyther because the Citie was very strong,
 but for that the Romanes had no reason to make them warre.
 And the Numantines had iust cause to defend themselves.

Helie the Spartan doth say, that onely the Emperour Traian
 was he, that neuer was ouercome in battell. And the reason
 thereof was this, that he did neuer take any warre in hand,
 wherein he did not iustifie his cause.

The King of Pontus whiche was called Mithridates, dyd
 wyte a certaine Letter vnto the Consull Silla, being vnto
 in warres moche cruelly the one against the other, wherein
 was thus witten: I doe muche wonder of the Consull Sil-
 la, to take warre in hande in so straunge a lande as this of
 mine: and that thou darest aduenture to deale with my great
 fortune, since thou knowest she neuer decried me, neither
 had acquaintance with thee. To these wordes the Consull
 did answere: Oh Mithridates, I weighe it very little to holde
 warre farre from Romae since the Romanes haue fortune al-
 wayes by them. And if thou say, that she did neuer fayle thee,
 nor euer know me, thou shalt now see, how (in vsing hir of-
 fice) she shall passe to me, and take hir leaue of thee. And al-
 though it be not so, I do neither feare thee, or doubte hir, for
 that I hope that the Goddes will do moze for my iustice, than
 for thee thy great fortune.

Many times the Emperoure Augustus vsed to say: that
 warres to be good, must be incommended vnto the Goddes,
 accepted of Princes, iustified of Philosophers, and executed
 of Capitaines.

Thus much I haue saide vnto your Lordship, to this end,
 E.ij. that

Two Ro-
 mane Cap-
 taines would
 in two manner
 of warres.

The warres
 against Nu-
 mantia was
 vniust.

X

The nature
 of warres that
 is to be holden
 iust.

that if your warre had bin vpon Ierusalem: it were to be hol-
den for iust, but for that it is vpon Marcellius, alway we hold
it for scrupulous. The kings hart is in the hand of God, saith
the diuine scripture. If it be so, who may attaine vnto this so
great a secret? whiche is to wete, that the kings hart, being
in Gods hand, he dare offend God: which doth appeare most
cleare, in that we see no other thing but warres amongst the
Christians: and leaue the Moores to prosper and liue in rest.
This businesse to me is so difficulte, that although I can speak
thereof: I know not, how to vnderstand it: since all day we
see no other thing, but that God doth permitte by his secretes
iudgements, that the Churches where they prayse him be de-
stroyed and throwen downe: and the cursed remaine sound
and free, where they do offend him.

Warres be-
twixt christians
dependeth of
the secretes of
God.

Your Lordship is a Christian, a good man at armes, my
neare kinsman, and my speciall friend, any of which things
doth much binde me to seele your trauaile, and to be graued
with your perill: I speake of trauell to the bodie, because the
Captaine that holdeth much of his honour, ought to esteeme
little of his life: I say perill vnto the soule, because amongst
Christians there is no warre so iustified, that in the same re-
mayneth not some scruple.

Eight condi-
tions meete to
be performed,
by a captaine
generall of the
warres.

Wherein your Lordship shall see that I desire to saue you, in
that I will not delite you with lies: But only to say vnto you
that which I do conceiue, to the end that after wards you may
do what is mete. If you know not wherunto you are bound,
I wish your Lordship to vnderstand, it is, that the Captaine
generall do auoyde vniust wrongs, correct blasphemers, suc-
cour innocents, chastise quarellers, pay his armie, defend the
people, auoyde all sackings, and obserue sayth with the ene-
mies.

Assure your selfe my Lord, that there shall come a time,
in whiche, you shall giue an accompt to God, and also to the
king: not onely of what you haue done, but likewise of that
whereunto you haue consented.

Sir Iohn of Guenara was your Gradsfather, and my cousin,
and

and he was one of the Gentlemen at armes, that passed out of Spayne, into Italy with the King Sir Alonso, and there did helpe to get this kingdome of Naples, and in recompence of his service, he made him Lord greate Seneshall of the kingdome. Of whiche you may gather, howe muche your Lordship ought to trauell, to leaue suche another renoume vnto your successours, as hath bene left vnto you by your predecessours.

As Cicero sayth, writing vnto Atticus, this name Knight or Gentleman, the Romaynes did neuer admit, either consent to entitle those that could gather muche riches, but suche as had bene at the victory of many battailes.

The good knight ought to imitate his good predecessours.

X

That Knight or Gentleman that doth not imitate the valiant actes of his predecessours, ought not boast himselfe, to descend of them. For, how much the more renoumed the life of the fathers is, so much the more are the children to be accused, for their negligence. To presume much of no more but to descend of Noble parents, I say is a thing most vaine. To blason a mans owne proper deedes is foolishnesse: but in the end of these two extremities, he is more tollerable that prayseth his owne vertues, than he that boasteth himselfe of other deedes.

He is not to be intituled a knight that is rich, but vertuous.

When amongst Knights or Gentlemen talke is of armes, a Gentleman ought to haue great shame to say, that he read it, but rather that he saw it. For it is very conuenient for the Philosopher to recount what he hath read, but the Knight or Gentleman it becommes to speake of things that he hath done. The Consul Marius, when he was resident in Rome, and also in the warres, many times would say: I confesse that I am extract of linage obscure, and also I acknowledge that I haue no armes of my predecessours, for that they were not flourishing Captaines. But iointly with this, they that are now alive can not denie, that in the temples I haue erected pictures or counterfets, I haue receiued in my body many woundes, and in my house many enleignes: none of which I do inherite of my predecessours, but haue wonne the of mine enemies.

In the talke of warres, not that I haue heard, but that I haue scene is most commendable for a gentleman.

enimies. And Marius saide moze: Your pzedecessors left you riches to enioy, houses wherein to dwell, slaues to serue you, gardens to delight in, same whereof to boaste, and armour wherwith to venter: but they haue not left you vertue, wherof you might pzeume. Of which vnde, Wh you Romaines, ye may inferre, that it is very little that he voth enherite, which both not enherite the vertues of his pzedecessors.

I thought good to aduertise you of these things, so the end that in remembryng the fame and noblenesse of such men as were your pzedecessours, you should muche moze esteeme to imitate their vertuous ades, than to haue their armes sette forth and drawen at large. I am deceiued, if I did not see in Cæsars court, a certaine gentleman of moze than a Quent of rent, whiche I did neuer see haue a horse in his stable, either lance in his house, neither yet commonly did weare his sword, but onely a Dagger that was very little. But on the other part, when he began to recount the doubty vndes of his forefathers, it seemed that he damned Lions.

The armes of
a knight are
giuen him to
fight, and not
to behold,

Open do now esteeme to paint their armes in their houses, to graue them in their seales, to place them in their postals, & to weaue them in their sumpter clothes, but none aduerteth to win them in the field: in such wise, that they hold armes, for others to behold: and not for themselves to fight.

One thing I will counsell your lordship: which for such as are of your estate in the warres, is very necessary: And that is, aboue al things to be vigilant, & to haue great regard, that amongst the captaines of your army, there be vnder great secrecie: for in greate assayes there is neuer good successe, when they be discovered befoze they take effect. If Suetonius Tranquillus doe not deceiue vs: Iulius Cæsar neuer sayde, to morrow this shalbe done, and to day let this be done: but onely to day this shalbe done, and to morrow we shall see what we haue to doe. Plutarke saith in his politiques, that Lucius Metellus, being demaunded of one of his Captains, when the battayle shoulde be giuen, made answer: if I thought my self did knowe the leaste thought that is in my hart, I would

woulde presently burne it, and neuer weare another. It were very well the affaires of warres, shoulde be commo-
ned of many, but the resolution of them, to be vsed with few.
For otherwise, they are like to be discovered befoze they be
concluded.

Also I thinke very well, that you take counsaile with
men that be graue and of experience but not without consi-
deratio, that they be wise, without rashnesse. For sometimes,
moze sound counsaile doth procede from men of selwe yeres,
and of much habilitie, than from men that be opinatiue and
of old yeres.

Your Lordship hath great cause to consider howe to take
advice of men, that in their counsailes be headstrong, and in
their dooers very rashe: for in dangerous cases that hap-
pen in the warres, it is lesse euill to retire, than to be losse.
Alcibiades a Captaine amongst the Greekes, did vse to say, that
men of bolde and valiant harts haue moze neede of fortitude,
to moue them to retire, than to abide their enemies. For not
to fle, their honour doth moue them: but to retire, their wis-
dome doth constrain them.

In greates hazardes it is muche better that men submitte
themselves to reason, than to hurle themselves into fortune:
In all things your Lordshippe hath to imbrace counsaile, ex-
cept it be when you shall see your selfe in some sodaine daun-
ger: for in the warre, we haue seene many Captaines lost,
for no other cause, but for that when they shoulde haue done a
thing at the sodaine, they haue sit downe with great leysure
to take counsell.

Also your lordship ought to admonish your armies, that in
their forcible and necessary perilles, they shew not themselves
to be menne dismayed: for the warres be of suche qualittie,
that the feare of some dismayeth the rest. Your Lordship may
hold it for certaine: that the heart which is full of feare, must
of necessitie be boide of hope. Whole that go alwayes to
the warres, neither ought to holde victorie for certaine, ey-
ther dispayre to obtaine it. For there is nothing wherein

X
Age and abili-
tie be mothers
of good coun-
sell.

The gene-
rous and no-
ble mind dothe
moze feare to
fle, than to a-
bide.

X
In soden pe-
rils it needeth
not to vse lgg
and delayed
counsels.

I fozt ought
to be the sepul-
chre of the de-
fendant.

fortune is lesse correspondent, than in the affaires of warre.
Brasidas the Greek, in the warres that hee held with the
Thracians, when they did take by force of armes a certaine
fozt which he defended merrailous valiantly, being deman-
ded by one of his enemies, why he had put him selfe within
the same fozt his defence, answered: I do sweare by the immor-
tall Gods, that he did rather commend his self vnto me to be
kept, than I vnto him to be defended: Bycause in the end, I
haue moze certentie of him to serue me fozt a sepulcher, than
fozt a sauegard.

I will saye no moze in this case, but craue of especiall fa-
uour: that in such wise ye behaue your selfe in these warres
of Prouance, that it may seme, and also be to all men notori-
ous, that you do moze fozt the obedience of your Lord the Em-
perour, than to be reuenged of the French king. For other wise
God would take vengeance of your reuengement.

The penne of gold that you sent me I haue receiued, and so
I beleue your Lordship shall receiue Marcus Aurelius, whiche
I do send you: the difference betwixt the one and the other is,
that in the Booke your Lordship may vnderstand my sim-
plicity, and in the pen there both appeare your great hountie.
So moze, but that our Loyde be your protectour, and giue
me grace to serue him. From Valiodolid, the xix. of Au-
gust, 1524.

A letter vnto sir Allonso of Albornaz, wherein is touched, that it is a
point of euill maner, not too aunswer too the letter that is
written vnto him.



If the Lady Marina your wife bee as well affected
to your person, as my penne is offended at your
blouthfulnesse: you may safely marrie without
after repentance. And I think not that I bind my
selfe vnto a small matter in saying, that in your
marriage you shall find no repentance, for surely, I wish too
haue no moze contrition of my sinnes, than many men haue
too

to think themselves married. To contract matrimonic with a woman, is a thing very easie: but to sustaine it unto the end, I hold it so very difficult. Whereby it comes to passe, that those which marry without respect, but only for love, line afterwarde with sorow. Considering al the displeasures that procede of the familie, then tediousnesse of the wife, the care for the children, the necessitie of the house, the provision for the servants, the importunitie of the consins, and the lutes of the tonnes in law: Although of all these things the married doth not repent him, at the least it doth raze him.

If many be married, they are not fewe that be repentant.

at quiesce
god should not
give us such
a burden

Not married
man may live
without tra-
vel.

A single man
is more at ease

Not married
man may live
without tra-
vel.

That man is
miserable that
is married un-
to a foolish
woman.

The Philosopher Mitho, being demaunded why he did not marry, answered: because if the woman (whome I take in marriage) be good, I shall spill hir, if she be evil I must suppoze hir, if she be poore I must maintaine hir, if she be riche, I must suffer hir, if she be foule I shall abhorre hir, if she be faire, I must watch hir, and that which is worst of al, for evermore I give my libertie to hir that shall never gratifie mee. Riches breedeth care, poverty sorrow, sailing feare, eating heavines, going wearinesse: all which troubles we se devised amongst many, except amongst the married where they loyne altogether. For we seldome see the married man go without care, sorrow, wearied, heavie, yea and also sometime astonished, I say astonished, of that whiche maye happen unto him, and of that his wife may dare to do.

The man that doth encounter with a woman that is a dizard, foolish, a babler, light, a glutton, a chider, slothfull, a goer at large, untractable, jealous, absolute or dissolute: it were better for that man to be a slave to some honest man, than a husbände to suche a wife. It is a terrible thing to suffer a man: but there is very much to be knownen in a woman. And for no other cause more, than for that they knowe not to be a measure in loving, or give no ende in abhorring: I will not, or perchance, I dare not, saye more in this case. For if in the same I should occupie my selfe and give libertie to my pen, I should want time to write, but not matter to speake.

Not without cause I saide, my pen was angry with your
 slothfulness, since halfe a yeare past I did write vnto you,
 and you haue not as yet answered me. And afterwards came
 Iohn de Occanio, and also with him you did not write: In such
 wise, that on the one part I call you sluggish, and of the o-
 ther part note you of negligence.

Worship is
 not blemished
 by answering
 of a letter.

A Prince did
 write vnto a
 bitmaker.

A noble Ro-
 mane did write
 vnto a plough
 man,

A noble Ro-
 mane did write
 vnto a carpenter.

So Sir, you may take it for a rule, never to leaue him vn-
 answered that hath taken paine to write vnto you: For that the
 maister of the herchemen, which is Hannan Sanz de Minchafa,
 said vnto me, that none lost his worships for answering vn-
 to a letter. To write to our better, is of necessitie: to answer
 vnto our equal, is of will: but to write vnto our inferiour, is of
 pure better. Alexander the great did write vnto Pulion his
 bit maker: Julius Cesar to Rufus his gardiner: Augustus to Pa-
 philo his smith: Tiberius to Escaurus his miller: Tullius to
 Miro his taylor: and Seneca to Gipho his rent gatherer: wher-
 of it may very wel be inferred, that basenesse doth not consist
 in writing: or answering base persones, but to will or to do
 vile things.

Paulus Emilius writing vnto his plough man, said: I haue
 vnderstood what word thou dost send me by Argeus, and the
 answer of the same is, that I send thee another ore, to yoke
 with that first ore, & also I send thee a cart ready drest: therfore
 eare that ground well, dresse the vines, purge the trees, and
 alway haue memoire of the Goddess Ceres. Curius Dentatus
 being in warre with Pyrrhus King of the Epirotes, did write
 a letter vnto a carpenter, which said thus: Cneius Patroclus
 certified me, that thou dost worke in my house: take heed that
 the timber be dry, and that thou make the lightes towards
 the south, that it be not high, that it be clere, & chimney with-
 out smoke; with two windowes, and no more but one
 doze. Alexander the great, writing vnto his smith, said: I
 send thee a horse, which the Athenians sent me: he and I did
 scape wounded from the battaile: breath him well euery day,
 cure wel his wounds, pare his soresafe, let him be vnshod,
 slit his nose, wash his necke, let hym not growe fat, for that no
 fat

that horse may well endure with me in the field. Of the famous Pharaoh, the tyrant, it is read, that never man did him ferret, that he did not gratify: either wrote him a letter, that he byd not answer.

No man is so
evil in whom
there is not
something to be
prayed.

So high and so great Princes, as here we haue named to
haue written to men so base, and so vile occupations, is not
written by historiographers to blemish them, but by the
same to magnifie them. Of which we may gather, that base-
nes both not consist, in writing or answering base persons,
but in doing thinges scandalous or vn honest. In this matter
as in all other thinges, you may vse that boldnesse with me
as with your selfe: but if vniuersally you vse to do the same
with all men, it may be, if your friends do note you of negli-
gence, there shall not want that will accuse you of pre-
sumption.

**Negligence & presumptiō be
two things
that loseth
friends.**

In Caius Cæſar there wanted no fortitude, for that he overcame many people: either clemencie, for that he pardoned his enemies: either liberalitie, for that he gave kyngdomes: either ſcience, for that he wrote many Bookes: either fortune, for that he was Lord of all men: But he wanted good maner, which is the foundation of a quiet life.

Amongst the Romanes it was a custome, that when the Senate entred the Emperours house, they did unto him a certaine great obeysance, and he did hisse unto them a certaine curtesie: in doing whersof, as he grew negligent, either for that he woulde not, or not remembryng: the case was thus, that within fewe dayes after, they gaue him thre & twentie stabs with a dagger: in such wise, that, y^e most Noble Prince lost his life for no greater matter, than for not hauing a little good maner. The contrary of this Suetonius Tranquillus doth wryte of Augustus y^e Emperour, which being in y^e Senat,

**Equal nurture
is hurtful in
all states.**

or in the Colledge, did neuer sit downe vntill they were all
set; and rendered the same reuerence that they gave him; and
if by chance his children entred the Senate house, neither
did he consent that the Senators shoulde rise, either that his
children should sit downe.

Sir, if you will not that men call you presumptuous: or
to speake plainly, do call you foole, haue a care to be well ma-
nered: for with good maner, more than with any other thing,
we withstand our enemies, and do sustaine our friends.

Where is mo-
ney, there is
dispatch.

Sir, I haue spoken with the Popes messenger, vpon the
dispensations that you sent to haue, to marry with the Gen-
tlewoman the Lady Marina. Whiche we haue agreed for
three score ducates, and as he is a Venetian, and would not be
counted a foole, he will first be payed, before you shall be dis-
patcht.

I haue spoken with Perianes as concerning the expedition
of the priuiledge of the Jury, and as he was deaffe and moste
dunch, I cried out more in speaking vnto him, than I do vse
in preaching.

The newes of the Courte is, that the Emperesse witheth
the Emperours comming, the Dames would marrie, the
suters would be dispatched, the Duke of Veiar would lye:
Antony de Fonseca would be growe young: Sir Rodrigo of Voria
would inherit, & also Frier Denise would be a Bishop. Of my
selfe I giue you to vnderstand, that I am in possession of all
the conditions of a good suter, that is to wit: occupied, solici-
ting, carefull, spent, suspicious, importunate, out of temper,
and also aduoyced: so that my Lozde the Archbishop of To-
ledo, and I go to the late so the Abbay of Baza, vpon which
I haue so; my parte a famous sentence. No more, but that
our Lozde be your protector, and giue me grace to serue him.
From Medina del Campo, the twelfth of marche. 1523.

A letter vnto sir Gonſalus Fernandes of Cordoua, great Captaine: in which is touched, that the knight eſcaping the warres, ought not from thence forth to depart his houſe.



Most renowned & valiant Prince, my weakeneſſe to write vnto your mightineſſe, my ſimplicite vnto your prouidence, if it ſhall ſerue vnto thoſe that ſhal heare thereof to be a thing ouer proude, and to ſuch as ſhal ſee it, to be ouer preſumptuous, lette them lay the fault vpon your honour, which did firſt write vnto me, and not on me, that do anſwere with ſhamefaſtneſſe.

Sir, I will trauell to ſatiſſie your excellencie in all things that ye comaund me by your letter, vpon this condition: moſt humbly beſeeching, that you do not ſo much conſider what I doe ſay, as that which I would ſay. And ſo that (to a perſon of ſo greates an eſtate) it is reaſon to write with grauitie: I will trauell to be meaſured in the wordes I ſhall ſpeake, and to be remeaſured in the reaſons I ſhall write. The diuine Plato in his Bookes of common wealth did ſay: That leſſe greatneſſe is not to be imputed to the honozable, to deale and be conuerſant with the weake, than it is to ſtand and to countenance with the mightie: and the reaſon that he gaue ſor the ſame, is, that the Generouſe and magnificent mā, uſeth moze force in taming his harte to ſcoupe vnto lowe things, than to take in hand graue, weightie, and high attempts. A mā of an high ſtature, receiueth moze paine in ſcouping to the ground ſor a ſtraw, than to ſtretch out his arme to reach a bꝛanche. By this that I haue ſaid, I would ſay, that this our hart is ſo puffed vp and ſo proude, that to riſe vnto moze than he may, it is life, and to deſcend to leſſe than he is worth, it is death.

There are many things whiche God would not bring to paſſe by himſelf alone, to the end they ſhall not ſay, that he is a Lord absolute: either wil he bring them to paſſe by the hands of the mightie, ſor that it ſhal not be ſayd, that he taketh help of humaine ſauour: and afterwarde he perſormeth the ſame by

God doth many times bring things to passe rather by the weak, than by the strong.

by the hand and industrie of some man beaten down of fortune and forgotten amongst men: wherein GOD sheweth his greatnesse, and filleth the same with his might.

The great Iudas Michabeus was lesse in body and much lesse in yeares, than his three other brethren, but in the end the good old Machathias his father, to him onely did comend the defence of the Hebrewes: and into his handes did also resign the armies against the Assyrians.

The least of the children of the great Patriarch Abraham was Isaac, but in him was established the right line of Christ, & on him all the Jewish people did fixe their eyes. The inheritance of the house of Isaac came to Esau and not to Jacob: but after the daies of the Father, Jacob did not onely buy the inheritance of his brother Esau, but also did steale the blessing.

Amongst. xij. sonnes, the youngest was most excellent.

Ioseph the sonne of Jacob was the least of his brethren and the last of the eleven Tribes, but in the ende it was he alone that found grace with the kings of Egypt, & did deserve to interpetre their dreames. Of seven sonnes that lesse had, David was the least, but in the ende, King Saul was of God reproved, and David King of Hebrewes elected. Amongst the meaner Prophetes Heliseus was the least, but in the ende, unto him and unto none other was given a doubled spirite. Of the meaner sorte of the Apostles of Christ was S. Philip, and the meanest Disciple of Paule, was Philemon: but in the end, with them more than with others they did take counsaill, and in great affaires would take advise.

Sir, it seemes to me that agreeing with that which I have saide, your Lordship would not take counsell with other men, that be learned and wise, but with me that am the simplest of your friends. As your Lordship hath ben so long time in the warres of Italie, it is very seldom that I have seene you, but much lesse, that I have eyther spoken or bin conuersant with you, for which cause my friendship is to be holden for more sure and lesse suspitious, for that I loue you, not for the rewards you haue giuen me, but for the magnificence that I haue seene in you. When one comes to seeke to be our friend,

is

maketh much to the matter, to consider the cause that moueth him to seeke the same: for if he be poore we must giue him: if he be rich, we must serue him: if he be fauoured, we must worship him: if he be wilfull, we must saune on him: if he be impatient, we must support him: if he be vicious, we must discourse with him: and if he be malicious, we must be ware of him.

One of the great trauelles that vnprofitable friends bring with them is, that they come not to seeke vs, to the end to doe what we wil, but to perswade vs to doe what they will. It is great perill to haue enemies, and also it is greafe trauell to suffer some kind of friendes: for to giue the whole hart to one is not much, but how much lesse, when amongst many it is reparted: neither my condition may beare it, either within the greatnes of your estate may it be contained, that we should loue after such sort, neither in such maner to behaue ourselves: for that there is no loue in this worlde so perfect, as that which holdeth no scruple of interest.

Your Lordship saith in your letter, that you write not vnto me, for that I am rich or mighty, but because I am learned and vertuous. And you instantly desire me, that I write vnto you with mine owne hand something that may be worthy to be vnderstood, and pleasant to be read.

To that which you say, that you hold me to be wise, to this I aunswere, as Socrates did, whiche is to wit, that he knew not any thing moze certaine, but in perceyuing that he did know nothing.

Very great was the Philosophie that Socrates did inclose in y^e aunswere: for (as the deuine Plato doth say) the lesser part that we vnderstand not, is much moze, than al that we know. In all this worlde there is not y^e like infamie, as a man to be imputed ignorant, either the like kind of praise, as to be called wise: bycause in the wise, death is very euil employed, and in the foole life is much worse bestowed.

The tirant Epimethes, seeing the Philosopher Demetrius weep immeasurable teares for the death of a Philosopher, demanded for what cause he wept so much, since it was

To lacke friends is perillous. And some friends be tedious.

We ought rather to bewaile the life of the wicked, than the death of the iust.

was a strange thing for Philosophers to weepe. To this Demosthenes answered: O Epimethes, I do not weepe because the Philosopher died, but for that thou liuest: and if thou knowest not, I will giue thee to vnderstand, which is: that in the scholes of Athens we do more weepe, because the euill doe liue, than for the death of the good.

Also your honour both saie, that you doe iudge me, to be a man solitarie and vertuous: might it please the diuine clemencie, that in all this, and much more, you speake the truth: because, in case for one to be or not to be vertuous, I dare venter to speake, that how muche sure it is, to be, and not to seeme to be, so dangerous it is to seeme to be, and not to be in deede.

A man is to be knowne, but not to be vnderstood.

Man is naturally variable in his appetites, profound in hart, mutable in his thoughts, inconstant in his purposes, & indeterminate in his conclusions: wherof we maye well gather, that man is easie to knowe, and very difficile to vnderstand. Your excellencie giues me more honour, in calling me wise and vertuous: than I giue to intitle you Duke of Sesa, Marques of Bitonto, Prince of Guilahe, and aboue all, great capitaine. For to my vertue and wisdom, warres can giue no impeachment, but your potencie and greatnes is subiect vnto fortune.

The battell of Ravenna for euermore shall be renowned.

Your honour writeth vnto me, that I certifie you of my opinion, in that the king our master doth commaund now of new, that you passe once more into Italy, by occasion of the battell, that the Frenchmen of late haue ouercome at Ravenna, whiche in the worldes to come shall be so famous, as it was now bloudie. Vnto this answering your honour, I saie that you haue great reason to doubt: and vpon the same to vse counsell: for if you do not accomplishe what you be commaunded, the kyng takes displeasure; and if you doe what they entreat you, you contend with fortune.

Two times your honour hath passed into Italy, and twice wonn the kyngdome of Naples, in which two tozneyes, you ouercome the battell of Garrellano, and the battell of Chirinola,

an

and helme the best people of the house of Fraunce. And that which is most of all, you brought to passe, that the Spanish nation of all the world were feared, and obtained vnto your selfe renoume of immortall memozy.

This being true as it is, it were no wisdome, either sure, tie, once more to returne thither to tempt fortune, which with none doth shew hir self so malicious and double, as with such as spend long time in the warres.

Lesse in the warres, than in any other thing we haue to beleue fortune.

Hanniball, a Prince of the Carthaginians, not contented to haue overcome the Romanes, in those great and famous battailes of Trene, Trasimene, and Canna, but as he would alway force and impose with fortune, he came to be overcome of those, which he many times had overcome. Those that haue to deale with fortune, must entreate hir, but not force hir, they must heare hir, but not be leue hir, they must hope in hir, but haue no confidence in hir, they must serue hir, but not anger hir, they must be conuersant with hir, but not tempt hir. For that fortune is of so euill a condition, that when she sauereth, she biteth, and when she is angered, she woundeth.

With great eloquence the author declarerh the nature of fortune.

In this iourney that they commaund your honour, neither do I perswade you that you go, either diswade you to tary: Dacly I say and affirme, with this third passage into Italy, you returne to put your life in perill, and your fame in bal-lance. In the two first conquests, you obtaine honour with them that be present, fame for the woꝛldes to come, riches for your children, an estate for your successors, reputation amongst straungers, credit amongst your owne, gladnes for your friends, and grief vnto your enemies. Finally, you haue gotten for excellencie, this renoume of great Captaine, not only for these our times, but also for the woꝛld to come.

Consider well what you leaue, and what you take in hand: for that it may rather be imputed for rashnes, than for wisdome, in keeping your house where al doth enuie, you should depart where al men should be reuenged. You overcame the Turkes in Passonia, the Moors in Granada, the Frenchmen in Chirinola, the Picardes in Italy, the Lombardes in Garellano, I

The words of a very friend, without dissimulation.

holde it to be doubted, that as fortune hath not moze nations to giue you to ouercome, she will now leade you, where you shall be ouercome.

The Dukes, the Princes, the Captaines, and vnder Captaines, against whom you haue fought, eyther they be deade, or else gone: In suchs sort, that nows against an other kinde of people you must deale and fyght. I sayd it, for that it may chauce, that fortune which then did fauour you, now may fauour them.

When do order warres, but God onely giueth victorie.

To accepte warres, to gather people, to order them, and to giue battaile, it belongeth vnto men: but to giue victorie appertaineth only to God. Tius Liuius saith, that many times with greate ignamie the Romaines were ouercome at Furcas Caudinas, in the ende, by the counsell of the Consull Emilins they changed that Consull which had the charge of that army: & where they wers befoze that time ouercome, wers fro thence so:ward conquerours of their enemies. Of whiche we may gather so: our purpose, that chaunging the Captaines of the warres, loyntly therwith fortune both alter.

To one person and one matter, fortune very sel-dome sheweth fidelitie.

In one self kingdome, with one self people, vnder one king, in one ground, and vpon one selfe quarell or demaund, hope you not, that Fortune will alwayes be faithfull: For in the place where she hath bled to be moste fauourable, it is hir deuise, by the same meanes, to shewe hir crueltie.

Rodrigo of Viuero did say vnto me, that your honour was not a little græned to see that your departure was prolonged: and that the King for this present helde it in suspense. And further he sayd vnto me, that you held it for so great displeasure, that if it were with an other that were your equal, you would demaund it at his hand as an iniurie. To heare this I do maruell, & am not a little, but muche offended: for I holde him not for a good beaste, that when they lade him, will stand stock still, and when they unlade him, will yerke out behind. Since the soule goeth charged with sinnes, the heart with thoughts, the spirit with temptations, and the body with trauels: it is much conuenient for vs, that if maye not alwaies ther

ther discharge cure selues of this burden at the least, that in some parte we lighten the same.

Your honour is not so yong a man, but that the more part of your life is past: and since the lyfe goeth consuming, and death appoaching: in my iudgement it should be better counsell for you to occupie your selfe in bewayling your old sins, than of newe to shed the blood of enimies.

What he ought to do that hath continued long in the warres.

It is nowe time, rather to weepe than to fight: to withdraue youre selfe, than to vse libertie: to make a reckoning with God, more than with the king: to accomplish with the soule, and not with honour: to call vpon God, and not to prouoke with enemies: to distribute your owne, and not to take from others: to conserue peace, and not to inuent warres. And if in this case, your lordship will not beleue me: from hence forward I diuine, that then you shall begin to seele it, when you may not remedie the same.

Your honour deceyueth your selfe, or else I know not what to say, for that I see you see that you should procure, which is quietnesse: and you procure that which you should see, which is disquietnesse. For there is no man in this world more vnforsunate, than he that did neuer experiment what thing it is to be reposed.

There is no greater trauell than to be ignorant of quietnesse.

Those that haue traauiled throughout diuers landes, and haue had exprience of diuers fortunes, the thing y they most desire in this lyfe is, with honour to see themselves returned to their countrey. Of which it may be inferred, that it is great temeritie, that you alone wil rather go to die amongst strangers, than to liue with honoꝝ amongst your owne. Vntill men haue gotten necessarie to eate, yea vntill they haue obtained also some surplasaage also to giue, in my iudgement, they ought not much to be blamed, although they wander throught out diuers kingdomes, and put themselves in great perilles. For he is as muche woꝝthie reprobension, that doth not procure that whiche is necessarie, as he that ceaseth not to provide that which is superfluous.

Men oughte to trauell vntill they haue wherewith to defende necessitie.

After a man hath found that which he hath sought for, and

ff. g.

also

It is in some
barred with
fortune, that is
not suffered to
repose in his
owne house.

also perchance it hath happened him better than he thought of: if after he be retired vnto his house in great quietnesse, will returne to rubbe againe with the world, I dare be bold to speake it, that such a one eyther lacketh wit, or else fortune will be to him unhappie. The diuine Plato doth saie in his booke of common wealth, that Fortune is more contrary vnto that man, that he doth not suffer to enioy that which he hath, than vnto him, to whome he denieth what he craveth.

I doe beseeche, and also advise your honour, that after you haue read this sentence, that you turne againe and againe to read the same: for in my iudgement, this sentence of Plato is very true, and very profound, and also vsed of many. For almost we see it by dayly experience, that many men can obtaine fame, honour, quietnesse, riches: and haue not the means afterward to enioy them.

It is more to
know how to
enjoy a victo-
ry than too-
uercome a
battell.

Iulius Caesar was he that nature endued with most graces, and to whom Fortune did giue most victories: and with all this, great Pompey did say of him: that he had great hardnesse to overcome any battaille, but that afterwarde he did not vnderstand how to enioy the victory. If in the great renowned battail of Canas: Hanniball had known how to enioy the conquest, he neuer afterwarde in the fields of Carthage, by Scipio the Aphrican had bin overcome.

Your Honour may take it as it pleaseth you, and vnderstand thereof as it may like you to commaund: but in my iudgement, he is not so cruell an enemye & hurles his dart at me in the warres, as he that comes to driue mee from my house. Comfortable to that which I haue said, I do say: that since we can not flee from cares and trauelles, yet at the least, that we procure to auoid some displeasures thereof. For without comparison, much more be the offences that we seeke vnto our selues, than be brought vnto vs by our enemies.

Our greatest
travels be of
our owne see-
king.

I will say no more in this letter, but that the Gentleman Rodrigo of Vinero and I, haue talked some things worthe the vnderstanding, and perillous to be writtē. I commend them with trust vnto his noblenesse here, & he shal relate them vnto

unto your excellencie there. No more, but our Lord be your
protector, and unto me giue grace to serue him. From Medi-
na del Campo, the viij. of Januarie. 1512.

A letter to sir Enrique Enriques, wherein the Authour
doth answer to many gracious demaundes.



Right magnificent and my olde friend. Valentin,
your solicitor, gaue me a Letter, the whiche
seemeth verie well to be written with your
olue hande, soz that it helpe seue lynes, and
many blottes. As God made you a knight, if
he had made you a Scriuer, you woulde haue bene more
handsome to colour Cordowan skines, than to haue written
poces. Sir, alwayes frame, if you shall write any Letter
to be sente, that the lynes be ryght, the Letters close, the
reasons decided, the letter legible, the paper cleane, the fol-
ding equall, the cloyng smothe, and the seale clere: soz it
a lawe of Courte; in that whiche is written, the wysedome
is vitered: and in the manner of writyng, good manner is
knowne.

Both wifes
dome and elo-
quence in writ-
ting of a let-
ter bee disco-
uered.

In the letter that was giuen me, were contayned many
demaundes vnder verie seue wordes. And soz that with
one Turquois wee both will make but one shewe. The case
shall be thus: to every demaunde, I will answer onely one
word. First you aske me, wherfoze I came to the Courte: to
this I answer, that I came not willingly, but constrained of
necessitie, soz the contention betwixte me and the Churche of
Toledo: my comming was expedient to clere my selfe, and
to withdraw the lawe.

Also you demaund of me, what I doe in the Court: wher-
unto I answer, that as my aduersaries do follow me, and my
businessse enlarging: I do nothing but vndoe my selfe.

In the courte
men doe not,
but budoe.

Likewise you will that I write vnto you in what thing I
do imploy the time: to this I answer, that according to the
fashion of vs Courtiers, beare euil will, blaspheme, loyter,

eye, traffike, and curſe: with moze truth we may ſay of ſinne, that we loſe it, than employe it. Alſo you demaund, with who I am moſte conuerſant in this Court: to this I anſwer, that the Court and the people therof, be grapes of ſo euill a ſoyle, that we that goe in the ſame, and from our childhode be brought vp therein, ſtudie not with whome to be conuerſant, but in diſcouering of whom to beware: with muche payne we haue tyme to defende vs from oure enemies: and will you that we occupie our ſelues in ſeking newe friendes? In the Courtes of Princes I doe confeſſe there is a conuerſation of perſons, but no conſideration of will: for here enimitie is holden for naturall, and amitie a ſtraunger. The Court is of ſuch nature, that they that do moſt viſit them, the worſe they doe entrate them: and ſuch as ſpeake beſte vnto them, the moze euill they do with them. They which haunt the Courtes of Princes, if they will be curious and no ſoules, ſhall ſynde many things wherat to wonder: and muche moze whereof to beware.

In the courtes
ther are thinges
to be ſpoken
dered, as alſo
to be ſpoken

Alſo you demaunde how the difference betwixt the Admirall and the Earle of Myranda ſtandeth: to this I anſwer, that the Admirall, as one of muche power, and the Earle, as one in much fauor, giues to eche other wherewith to be occupied, and to vs ſufficient wherat to murmur.

Sir, you demaund what newes we haue of the Emperors coming: to this I anſwer, that which we preſently vnderſtand, is, that the Turke is retired, Florence is alped, the Duke of Milane is reduced, the Venetians diſamaine, the Pope and Ceſar did conſecrate, the Eſtates of Naples be reparted, the Colona is deade, the Marques of Villa Franca is made Viceroy of Naples, the Prince of Orange is ſlayn, and vnto the Chanſeler and to the Confeſſor, to either of them is giuen a Cardinals hat. Other ſecret newes they write from thence, which be lamentable to ſuch as be therewith touched, and gracious to thoſe that heare therof, which is: many of thoſe that went into Italie with Ceſar, are become amozons, and in the artes of loue haue ranged ſo farre. But ſir, in this caſe I ſwear vnto

News of
those dayes
from Italy.

unto you, as it soundeth in myne eares, they: wines be here sufficiently reuenged of them, so: if they leaue there any women greate with childe, also they shall fynde here they: wyues brought a bed.

You will also that I wryte vnto you, howe it goeth with vs for vittayles this Lent: to this I answer, that by diuine grace we haue not wanted this lent fische to eat, and also fynyng to confesse. For the case is come to such dissolution and dishonour, that the Gentlemen hold it for an estate and advancement of honour to eate fleshe in Lent.

Also you demaund if the Court be deare or god cheape, to this I answer, that my steward telleth me, that from October vnto Aprill, it hath cost me in wood and cole, an hundred and fortye Ducates. The cause of this is, that this same towne of Medina as it is rich in faires, so is it poore in moistaynes or woods, in suche sorte that the count being wel cast, the wood costs as deare as the dressing of the pot. Other thinges are in this Court at a god price, or to say it better, very god cheap: that is to wit, cruel lies, false news, vnhonest women, sayned friendship, continuall animities, doubled malice, vaine wordes, and false hopes, of whiche eight things we haue suche abundance in this Courte, that they may set out bouthes, and proclayme faires.

Eight conditions of the court, and all verie pernicious.

Sir you demaund of me, if there be god expedition of causes, so: that you haue some to be dispatched: to this I doe answer, as the things of the court be tedious, displeasing, long deferred, costely, intricate, vnfortunate, desired, besieged, lamented, and bescratched, I conceyue of mine own part, that it ten be dispatched, much more despised.

In the courts more despised than dispatched.

Also you will mee that I wryte vnto you if the faire be good this yeare at Medina. To this I answer, that as I am a courtier and a suter, and haue neyther marchaundise to sell, and much lesse money wherewith to buy: I knowe not wherof to prayse it, nor do I fynde why to mislike it. But in passing thorough the faire, I see in the bouthes of these Burgaleses, so many riche and pleasant things, that in beholding them, I

I. iij.

take

toke great pleasure, and being not able to buy them, I was muche tormented. The Emperesse came forth to see the faire, and as a Princesse most wise, wold not be accompanied with hir maids of hono^r, bicause the Gentlewomen that did serue hir, being so poore and so setue, it coulde be no lesse, but that they woulde vse their libertie in asking fairings, and the gentlemen should thinke it their partes to giue them.

But, you demaund if the Courte be in health, or if the pe-
 tilence be thereaboutes: to this I aunswere, that of agues, tertians, and quartaines, plague sores, and such other infirmities of the body, we are al in health and berie well, excepte the licenciate Alarcon, that being relating a proces before the counsell, sobainly fell downe dead. And of a trouth, his death was to many in this Court very terrible, although I see none to amende his lyfe by the same. Other infirmities be in this Courte, that bee not corporall, but spirituall, as angers, hatred, quarrels, rancours, wrath, and slaughters: the whiche maladies doe consist, not that they go with bodies infected, but in the swelling of the spleene, & corruption of the gall.

Death giueth
 feare, but not
 amendment.

Signe of
 the plague
 in the
 countrey

Signe of
 the plague
 in the
 countrey

I haue turned many tymes to reade your letter: and haue not founde any more to aunswere. For of a suretie, it did rather seme an Interrogatorie to saue witnessen, than a letter to a friend: I wil say no more, but that I haue escaped in writing vnto you, very wearie, & also angrie not for the answering to the matter, but in construing youre ill fauored letter. But I shal be your protector, and giue me grace to serue him. From Medina del Campo, the fift of June, in the yeare 1532.

A letter to sir Antonie of Cueva, wherein is expounded an authoritie of holie Scripture, very notable, which is to witte why God did not heare the Apostle, and did not heare the diuell against Iob.

Magnificent sir, & particular beloved, Alonso Espinell hath me a letter from your worship here in Toledo, the date whereof was the 12. of May, and it is now the 10. of June:

in.

in such sort, y your letter neyther may be cōdemned for stale,
either for fresh. Many from many partes do write vnto me:
sometime their letters be suche, that to read them, it is very
tedious, and to aunswere them, no lesse displeasing. To see a
letter ill written, and worse noted, neither is it to be taken in
good parte, either may we leane to murmur thereat. The
ploughman in plowing, dothe renew his sough that it be
straight: and shall not a man haue regard to note and write
his letter very well? There be many who wil as lightly take
the pen in hand to write, as the glasse to drinke: and that which
is worst of all, they thinke much of themselves to be talking
and writing. The which doth well appere in their letters,
because the letter is illegible, the paper blotted, the lines
crooked, and the reasons doltish. To knowe a man whether
he be wise or foolish, is a great part to consider, whether he
write vpon aduise, and speake with iudgement, for a
man must not write what cometh to his memozy, but what
reason doth direct.

The plough-
man renewing
the straight-
ness of his so-
rough, giueth
note to the
wise to examin
their writings

Plutarch doth say of Phalaris the tyrant, that he did neuer
write but being alone, without a wren, and with his own hand:
whereof it doth follow, that although, al do blaspheme him for
his tyranny, his letters wer praised throughout the world.

*

Of a trouth, a Gentleman and a kinsman of mine, did
write vnto mee a letter of two sheetes of paper, and as he
wrote so large, and not returning to read what he had writtē,
the very same reasons, and the very same words that he had
put in the beginning, he did return to write in the end, where-
at I was so much offended, that I burnt the letter, and made
him no aunswere. Doubtles your letters are not of such qua-
lity, the whiche to me be very pleasant to reade, and not te-
dious to aunswere, because in letters they are very pleasant,
and in earnest, very wise.

A letter ought
to be pleasant
to reade, & di-
scerned to be no-
ted.

Sir you say, that in reading the mozailes of saint Gregory,
you did note, and also did meruaile to see, that the deuill did
aske licence of God to do hurt vnto holy Iob, & it was graun-
ted him: and the Apostle S. Paule did pray vnto God to take

F. v.

away

away the temptation of the flesh, and it was denied him. In such wise, that God heard the Deniall, and did not condescend vnto the prayer of saint Paule. Maruell ye not sir of this: for the thinges that the diuine prouidence do bring to passe be so iust, and done for so iust causes: that although wee maye not reach them: they want not therfore reason, why they should not be done. If wee deeply consider what God did with the Apostle, wee shall finde, that it was moze that God gaue him, than the Apostle did craue. Bycause, he desired that the temptation of the flesh might be taken away: and God gaue him grace to overcome it. What iniurie doth the Prince to the Captaine, that sendes him a warfare, if he makes him sure to haue the victorie? If absolutely God should haue taken away the temptation of the flesh, from the Apostle saint Paul: neither should there haue remayned occasiō to deserue, either should haue been giuen grace to overcome. For he is moze supported of God, to whom he giueth helpe to conquire, than to him, that he excuseth to fight. Let vs not despaire, afflict our selues, or be ouer thoughtfull, and much lesse complayne and murmur of God: if sozthwith he giue not that whiche wee desire. For he doth it not, with disfauour in that he will not heare vs, but bycause he wil change it into a better cause. He knoweth what he doth, and wee vnderstand it not: he knoweth what he doth denie, but wee not what wee aske: he measureth all thinges with reason, and wee but with appetite: he doth denie that is hurtfull vnto vs, and graunteth that which is profitable. Finally I do say, that he doth know: how hee are to be handled: and therfore, wee ought of him only to depend. The Apostle had seene the inuisible and diuine secrets, whiche of his forefathers had been much desired but neuer seene: and bycause, of that so high reuelation, hee should not boast or grow proud, the Lord would not take away the concupiscence of the flesh. In such wise, that in recompence of not condescending to his desire, hee did take awaye the occasion to sinne, and gaue him grace to overcome. God blessed moze pittie with saint Paule, in that hee would not heare him: than

God dothe
moze for vs in
giuing vs grace
than to take
away tempta-
tions.

God doth
know what he
giueth vs, but
we know not
what to craue.

To haue the
occasion of
sinne taken a-
waye, is no
small benefite
of God.

than if hee had heard him. For if hee should haue taken a waye
the concupiscence of the flesh, it might haue come to passe that
as much as hee had diminished in temptation, hee might haue
increased in pride. When the Lord doth permit that one is
tempted, it doth not followe therfore, that hee is of God ad-
hoired: for my parte, I holde it rather a signe, that of God,
hee is elect. For as saint Gregory sayth, there is not a greater
temptation, than not to be tempted. Christ hath left the way
to heauen marked: and the markes of this voiage be tribu-
lations, aduersities, mishappes, and infirmities. In such wise,
that it is no other thing to be remembred of God: but that
in this world he be permitted to be tempted. Let it be holden
for certaine, that they of him are lost, whiche in this world,
from aduersities be priuiledged. For the enemy of mankind,
(whiche is the deuill) vnto all those that he hath registred for
his owne, hee doth trauell, that they may liue in great wel-
fare and ease. Sir, also you saue, that you doe much maruail
to see the boldnesse that the Deuill had in asking licence of
God, to hurt holy Iob: and to see the liberalitie that God vsed
in giuing it. In such sort, that he denied S. Paule, that he de-
sired, and graunted the Deuill, that whiche he craued.
Sir, although you haue no reason, yet haue you some occasion
to demaund that whiche you aske: for of a suretie, it as an
hard thing to consent that our enemy do hurt vnto our friend.
What whiche I dare speake in this case, is that it is lesse,
pernicious, and of more worthinesse to suffer ill, than to
haue authoritie to do euill. And after this maner wee haue
more enuie of holy Iob, in that hee suffred, than vnto the de-
uill, for that whiche he did. It ought to be farre distant from
the diuine will, that he that hath to giue grace to serue him,
should giue licence to offend. It is a great euill for a man to
be euill: but it is much worse to make him euill, which is good.
Because, our owne proper sinnes God doth well see, they
proceede of weaknesse: but the persecuting of the good, al-
wayes groweth of malice. If men do aske of God vpon their
knees, that hee giue grace to serue him, they ought to aske
with

To be with-
out temptati-
is no good
signe.

The deuill pro-
cureth great
welfare vnto
his dearlings.

Notable exam-
ples against
such as do per-
secute.

with feares that he do not giue them place, to offend him. For in the ende, if I do not good workes I shall haue no reward: but if I doe euill, for the same I shall haue paynes. By Caine, Abell was slaine: by Esau, Iacob was persecuted: by Saule, Dauid was banished: by Nabugodonoser, Ierusalem was burned: by Achab, Micheas was imprisoned: by Zedechias, Esaias was sauen: and by the Diuell, holy Iob was afflicted. Man by the multitude of his sinnes, doth deserue to be an offence, and a scourge of the good. Such did the Diuell offend Iob, in tempting him: but much moze did holy Iob deserue in suffering that temptation. Bycause in the persecutions of the iust, God doth moze behold the patience of him that suffreth, than he doth the malice of him that doth persecute.

Also you will, that I write vnto you, what it was I preached this other day vnto the Emperour, which is to wit, that the Princes which tyrānously gouerne their common wealthes, haue moze cause to feare good men, than those that be euill. Sir, that whiche I sayde in this case was, that the tyrants whiche in the common wealthes haue offices of most preheminence, haue much moze respect to the bountie of the good, than to the conspiracies of the euill. For that amongst many other thinges, this priuilege is cōtayned in vertue: that is to vnderstand: amongst the least inferiours it cometh dismay: with the equall, it moueth enuie: and to the great & mightie, it yeldeth feare. The Siracusan Dionisius, had moze feare of the diuine Plato which was in Grecia, than of al the enemies he had neare him in Cieilia. Kyng Saule had moze respect to the desertings of Dauid, than to the armies of the Philistines. The proud Aman, that was so priuate with Kyng Assuerus, was moze grieued with the good Mardocheus, that he held him in no reuerence, than with all the rest of the kyngdome. Herod Escalonite, did hold in moze reuerēce, and also did moze feare only Iohn Baptist, than all the kingdome of Iudea. Finally, I do say and affirme, that none may with a troth say or affirme that he hath an enemy, but when he hath some good man to his enemy. Bycause the euil man doth hurt with his

Very great
bee the priu-
leges of the
vertuous.

He incurreth
great perils
that cōtendeth
with the ver-
tuous.

his knife, but the god, doth hurt with his credit. Sir, allwaies haue regard, not to striue or contend with a man that naturally is good, and hath credite in the common wealth with all men. For, he shall do you moze hurt with his word, than you shall offend him with a blowe of a saunce.

Sir as touching the Commendathoy, Iohn of Towres, that would not the gouernment this yere, which the gouernours had giuen him, saying: that he deserued better, and that the king when he shall come from Flaunders will giue him moze: to this I aunswere, that it seemeth to me lacke of wit, and also a surplusage of foolishnesse, to leaue a reward certaine, for a hope doubtfull.

The certaine before the doubtfull is to be preferred.

Sir, also you coniure me that I write vnto you, what I thought of the Lozde President, Sir Antony de Roias, when I talked with him in your businesse: to this I aunswere, that he seemeth to mee sharpe in his aunsweres, and wise in his dealings. I do not like well with many of this Court, that depaue him for his speache, and do not afterwards consider of his doings, as it is true, so likewise many of our friends giue vs wordes by hintals, but workes by the ouer.

A hintall is a hundredth weight.

Also you will mee that I write vnto you what I iudge of the Embassadour of Venize, for that I am conuersant with him, and he confesseth him self with me. Sir, I can tell you, that he is in science learned, in his life reformed, and in conscience much considerate. And it may be sayde by him, that which Plato saide by Phocion his friend: he did moze loue to be, than seeme to be vertuous. In the other secreete and particular businesse, that Alonso Espinell commoned with mee off, in your behalf, with the same faith that your worship sent me the message: receyue ye also the aunswere. From Toledo the. xij. of June, in the yere of our Lord. 1525.

It is better to be, than to seeme to be vertuous.

A

A letter vnto Master Frier Iohn Benenrades : wherein is expounded, that which is sayd in the scripture, that the euill spirite sent of God, came vpon Saule.

The conditions
of a friends
letter.

Ruerend and welbeloued Father, the letter that your fatherhood made in Salamanca, I haue receiued here in Soria: the which forthwith I read, and afterwarde many times did turne to reade: for that I receyued very great consolatiō in remembryng my self from whom it came, and in noting what it contained. In the letter of a very friend, the spirits do reioyce, the eyes delight, the hart is recreated, friendship confirmed, and the vnderstanding is comforted. For Plutarch sayth in the booke of the fortune of Alexander: that the great Alexander did neuer reade the letters whiche tyrantes did send him, eyther did teare the letters that Philosophers did write vnto him. All the letters, that Marcus Antonius did write vnto Cleopatra, and all the letters that Cleopatra did write vnto Marcus Antonius, were found by the Emperoure Augustus very well laide vp, after the death of Marcus Antonius. The letters that Cicero did write to Publius Lentulus, to Anticus, to Rufus, to Fabarius, and to Drusius, which were his familiar friends, were all found in their heping, and not in his originall.

As concerning that your fatherhode wryteth, and by this letter commaund me to write: it may be very well answered: as saint Agneda did answer the virgin Lucie, which is to wete, *Quid a me petis Lucia Virgo? nam ipsa poteris prestare continuo matri tue.* In this case, and in this demaund, I can not tell whether of vs deserueth moze paine, your fatherhode, for tempting my patience, or I, in aduenturning my selfe to publish my ignorance. For hee is not woorthy lesse fault that sinneth, than hee that is the cause of sinne. *Si nequeo, ascendere in montem cum Loth: ad minus saluabor in Segor.* I would say, that if your fatherhode, bee not satisfied with that whiche I shall answer, it maye please you to bee satisfied with that I would

answ

answers. For as Plato sayd, hee that doth trauel not to erre, misseth very narrowly.

You will that I write vnto you, what I iudge, and how I vnderstand that text, whiche is writtten in holy scripture, 1. Regum cap. xvj. where it is said, speaking of King Saul and of his infirmitie: *Spiritus Domini malus arripiebat Saulem.* The first King of Israel was named Saul, he was chosen of the Tribe of Benjamin, which was the last Tribe of all 7 Tribes: and in the second yeare of his raigne, an euill spirit sent of God did vex him, whiche would not come out of him, neyther leaue to torment him, vntill the good King David came befoze him, to play and to sing. But now the doubt is, how it may be vnderstande, and agree withall, that the scripture should say, the euill spirit of the Lord did take Saul: if the spirit were of the Lord, how was he euill: and if he were euill, how was he of the Lord: it seemeth an hard thing, and not intelligible, to say of the one part, that that spirit which held Saul, was of the Lord: and of the other part, to say that the spirit was euill. But if the spirit were of the Lord how was he then euill: and if he were euill, how was he of the Lord: For the vnderstanding hereof, it is to be noted, how it is writtten in the 1. Regum cap. xxvj. that David being compassed with the armie of King Saul, who sleeping on a night in his tent, David did passe thorough the middes of his campe, and toke from the Kinges beds head, the launce that he fought withall, and a cruse of water, wherein he vsed to drinke: and in this passage, he was neither seen of the watch, nor perceiued of the scout. And why? *Quia sopor Domini irruit super eos:* to saue, as the Scripture saith, that the sleepe of the Lord fell vpon them, is most true: but to say, that God doth sleepe, and hath neede of sleepe, is a great mockery. For, as the Psalmist doth saue, *Eccē non dormitabit neque dormiet qui custodit Israel.* Vnto the scripture doth say: *Quid sopor Domini irruit super eos:* that God had sent a dead sleepe vpon them: it is to be vnderstande: *non quod ipse dominus dormiret: Sed quia eius nutu infusus esset: ne quisquam presentiam David sentiret.* The diuine prouidence would cast a

A text of scripture expounded.

sleepe

ſleepe vpon King Saul, and vpon his watch, and vpon thoſe of his Campe: not ſoꝝ their recreation, but ſoꝝ the ſafe keeping of Dauid: in ſuch wiſe, that in God, his ſleepe and his prouidence is one ſelf thing: the Lord is ſo zealous of his elect, and ſo vigilant to preſerue them, that he doth not only giue them grace to perſorme good purpoſes, but alſo doth direct them alwaies by good meanes: in ſuche wiſe, that although he doth permit them to trauaile, he doth not conſent that they periſh.

But comming to the purpoſe, that after the manner, that the Scripture is to be vnderſtood, *Sopor Domini irruit ſuper eos*: after the ſame manner, is vnderſtood, *Spiritus Domini malus arripiebat Saulem*. And ſoꝝ farther declaration of this I ſay:

Quod ſi Diabolus tentationem iuſtis ſemper inferre cupiat: tamen ſi a Domino poteſtatem, non accepit: nullatenus adipiſci poteſt, quod appetit.

The ſpirite that did tempt and torment King Saul: ſoꝝ this cauſe he is called an euill ſpirite: ſoꝝ that the will of the Deuill in tempting vs, is euill. And ſoꝝ this purpoſe, he is named the ſpirite of the Lord: ſoꝝ that the power which the Lord doth giue him to tempt vs, is good. When God dothe giue licence to any Diuill, that he go to bere and diſquiet any iuſt man: it is not Gods intention, that he tempt him, but to exerciſe him: becauſe vertue is of ſuch qualitie, that it groweth moztified, when it is not exerciſed with trauailes. The wheat whiche is not turned, is eaten with wiuels. The garment that is not woꝝne, is eaten with mothes: the timber that is not ſeaſoned, is ſpoiled with cheſt lockes: the irb that is not woꝝought, doth conſume with ruſte: bread long kept groweth ſinnowed. By this that I haue ſaide, I would ſay, that there is not any thing that turneth vs to moꝝe weakenesse & negligence: than to be a certaine time without temptations.

Vertue & the
vertues by ex-
erciſe be con-
ſerued.

God hath
moꝝe regarde
vnto vs than
we our ſelues.

Much moꝝe care hath God of vs, than we of our ſelues: ſoꝝ in the end, as our woꝝthineſſe is litle, and but to ſmal purpoſe, if we do quaille, he doth comfort vs: if we lie downe to ſleepe, he waketh vs: if we be wearied, he helpeth vs: if we grow fearful, he doth encourage vs: if we grow negligent, he doth intice vs. Finally I ſay, that leauing our ſelues vnto our owne power.



power, we permit our selves to fall, and he alone giues the hand to lift vs up.

Also holy Iob was tempted of the euill spirit of the Lord, not because there was any notable fault in the man: but for that ther raigned in the Diuell enuie and malice. For cursed Iathan had not enuie of the great gods that Iob had, but of the excellent life that he led. At the instant that one is euill, he doth desire that all be euill: if he bee sclaundered, that all be defamed: in such wise, that ther is not so perillous an enuie, as that whiche euill men haue of those whiche be good and vertuous: If one be good and rich, and tne by one that is euill and malicious. First, he that is euill, doth trauell to take away the credit the good man hath, before he blesse force to spoile him of his goods.

Abraham was tempted when it was commaunded that his onely sonne shoulde be sacrificed. Tobie was tempted when he lost his sight. The holy Iob was tempted, when they killed his children, toke his gods, and filled him with the mangle: in which temptations those holy men suffered much, and also losse much: but at the time of repayment he did not giue them reward according to the gods they lost, but according to the patience they vied. Since it is certain that all passions or troubles, eyther God doth send them, or else do come by the hand of God, it is reason that we take them as sent by the hand of God, who is so iust in that he commaundeth, and so limited, in that he permitteth, that he doth neuer suffer vs to be tempted aboue our strength. With men that be of a good life, and doe kepe rekening with their conscience: the licence whiche God giueth to the Diuill to tempte them, is surely limited, and the patience that hee giueth them, is very bountifull. *Et de hoc balteus sufficit.*

Not the suffering but the patience wherewith we suffer, God regardeth.

The temptation of the Deuill is limited.

The Controller Hinesfros came from the Court this way to see me, whiche came in such distresse, for that he had gone thither, he him repented, and for that he had staied, he was despised, and for that whiche had happened, he was abhorred: in such sorte, that to beare him repozt his great trauellen,

¶

moued

moued me to weigh my owne as light. Men in sadness ought not to seeke comfort of those that be merie, but of others that are sorrowfull and moze confounded than them selues.

For if they so doe, of a troth, they shal find that it is very little they suffer, in respecte of that whiche others endure. So moze, but that our Lord be your protectoz, and giue me grace to serue him. From Soria the 4. of March. 1518.

A letter vnto the Marques of Velez, wherein hee writeth vnto him certaine newes of the Court.



Ight magnificent & my singular good Lord, Garcy Rodrygues seruant and solicitor vnto your Lordshippe, gaue me a letter of yours made the seuenth of this present in Velez el Rubio, which came with moze swiftnes, and also moze fresh than the Damons they bring from Bayon. Your honour writeth vnto me, that I shoulde certifie

you what newes, and what wooulde remembre vnto whiche, I dare aunswere your Lordship, that in this Court, none runneth, but they goe all bechafed. It is an ancient pestilence in the courttes of Princes: that they call suche men as do not aunswere them: they loue where they be hated: they followe such as knowe them not: they seeke those that flee them: they serue those that paye them not: they hope for that which is not giuen them: and they procure that which they can not obtaine. Suche and so great trauelles as these are, although we perforce with our bodie that suffereth, we can not bring to passe with the heart to dissemble them: if the body suffer paynes, and the heart be compassed with anguish, sooner dothe the body cease to complaine, than the hart to sigh. Plutarche saith of Aeschines the Philosopher, that being as he was alway sick, did neuer complaine of the spleene that vexed him: and on the other parte, he did muche lament of any

any sorow that hapned vnto him. As a wise man it seemeth
your Honor to be aduised in keeping your house, ouerseruing
your laides, enioying your gods, vnderstanding how to liue,
and howe to discharge your conscience. In such wise, that
of affaires in court, ye delight to heare, & sic to see them. For
of a troth, as all things that doe passe here are sayned, vayne,
voide, inconstant, and dangerous: it is a pastime to vnder-
stand them, and a great despite to behold them.

Your Lordship will that I write vnto you, whether I be
present at any time when the Emperesse doth eate, and what
things she doth most vse to feed on: Now in winter (as at this
present) few Prelates being at Court, I (my Lord) am pre-
sent euery day at dinner and supper, not to see, but to blesse
the table. And I can tell your Lordship, that if I blesse hir, I
curse my self: because at the houre that I departe the Court
to go to dinner, it is then time (very neare) to goe to bed.

There is much lesse trauell in seruing of God, than the kyng.
For the king doth not accept seruice, but when it liketh him:
but our God, doth not only accept when hee will, but also
when we thinke good. So that you demaund, what and how
the Emperesse doth eate: I can shew your Lordship, that she
eateth that whiche she eateth cold, and in the cold, alone, with
silence, and that all stand beholding. If I be not deceiued,
these be fine such condicions, that onely one were sufficient to
giue me a very euill repast. Sir it is now winter, the which
naturally is a time very heauie, cold, melancholike, and all
men delite to eate their meate by the fire, warme, accompa-
nied, and talking, and that none stand to behold, for that in
time of reioycing, when a man neither eateth or serueth, but
standeth with silence musing with him selfe: I dare saye, of
such a one, he doth not behold vs, but rather watch vs. To
eat in this winter any cold meat, is no smal wāt of good diet, for
meats that are cold, do hurt the stomacke, & giue no appetite.
A man to eat alone is likewise great solitarinesse, & in this ende,
the gentleman doth not so much delite in the meate he eateth,
as in this mirth he maketh with his company he hath at his table.

It is lesse tra-
uel to serue
God, than the
world.

Good compa-
ny is more
pleasant then
great fare.

For a man to eate without communication and warmth: I would say, the one proceedeth of stithynesse, the other of wettednesse. Princes be not bound to be subiect to these rules: because they are forced to vse great severitie in their life, and great authoritie at their meate. My Lord, be it as he may: and let his Maiestie eate, as shall please him to commaund: for in the end I do more reioyce at his patience, than enuie the meate he eateth. The meates that are serued at his table are many: and those that hee feedeth on, be very few, (for if his Maiesties diet do not deceiue me,) the Emperesse is of a very good condition, and of a weake complexion. The most that she eateth of, is winter Mellons, powdered Beefe, fed Pigeons, mince Bacon, great Beefe, and Capons roasted: in suche wise, that she eateth that others do lothe: and she abhorreth that, for which men of the countrey do sigh. They set before her, Becocks, Partridge, Capons, franked Pheasant, Panger black, Pasties, Tarts, and other variable kind of gluttonies: of all which, she not only pretendeth a contempt to eate, but also, sheweth a lothfomnesse to behold. In such wise, that the contentation doth not consist in the much or little that we haue, but only in that, wherunto we be inclined. In all her dinner, she drinketh but once, and that is not pure wine, but water mixed with wine: in suche wise, that with her sippets none may satisfie his appetite, and much lesse kill his thirst. She is serued after the manner of Portingall, which is to wit: there is placed at the table three Dames vpon their knees, the one to carue, the other to waite to serue, in such sort, that the meate is brought by gentlemen, and serued with Ladies. All the other Dames be there present, standing vpright, not in silence, but talking, not alone, but accompanied: so that the three Ladies giue the Emperesse to eate, and the others yeeld their seruants sufficient matter both to speake and thinke. Authorized and pleasant is the manner of Portingall, yet truly, notwithstanding that sometimes the Dames do laugh so loud, and the gallants do speake so high, that they lose their gravitie, and also are yfkyne to his Maiestie.

So that

What whiche your Lordship doth demaunde, that wher
ther be moze; the Dames that be sued vnto, or the gallants
that do serue them: to this I aunswere: that Esayas did saye,
Apprehendent septem mulieres virum vnum. Manye sonnes of
Knights and Gentlemen, do trauel to see the Dames, to talke
with them, and to serue them: but at the tyme of maryage,
none doth marrie with them. In such maner that Justice iu-
stice, but not at home.

What whiche you demaund, who gaue the Hat to the
Lorde Cardinall: it was Sir Frauncis of Mendoza, Bi-
shop of Samora. And if my diuination deceiue me not, the
Lorde Bishop, had rather haue ben vpon his knees to re-
ceiue the same, than sitting to giue it. They presented the Hat
in saint Antonies Church: and at the instat it was giuen him,
there fell so great tempest of wind and raine, that if as he
was a Christian, he had bene a Romane, either he would not
haue receiued it, or els haue defered it vntill another daye.
My Lord it is not to be holden for a iest, that at the very pre-
sent, the wind and the raine was so cruell and behement,
and the water so great, that when the Cardinall went thence
made Cardinall, he did moze profite him selfe of the Hat he
brought, than of the Hat whiche he receiued. The banquet
made by the Cardinall, was magnificent in expences and of
long continuance, for that we began to eat at one, and made
an end at foure. As concerning drinking, there were found
so good wines, and also so good drinkers, that Toro, S. Martin,
Madrigall, and Arenas, did cause that some did stauke with
bankeoye stappes.

The old Ro-
manes were
superstitious.

Places where
the good wine
of Spaine
doth grow.

As concerning my lodging, your Lordshippe ought not to
aske me, if I haue good lodging, but if I haue any lodging.
For I saye many times vnto Iohn de Aiala the harbenger,
that of God we obtain that we desire with prayers: and of
him we can not get a lodging, no not with teares. On a sun-
day in Absent, preaching in the Chappell vnto his Maiestie,
I saye, that saint Iohn Baptiste went to dwell in the desert, not
onely to auoyd sin, but also for that he would not haue to

doe with herbingers: and your Lordship do demand if there be much people at the Court: to my iudgement ther are a feke men & many women: for that from Auila there came inowe to the Court, and here in Medina was very many, & beside these, Toro, Zamora, Salamanca, & Olmedo, have sent hitther of ther aduentures, in suche sort, that if in Palace there be for euery galant seuen dames, there is in Courte for euery courtier seuen Courtizanes. For that Caesar is in Flanders, & winter harde, and the yeare deere also, there is none at the court that willingly it ould be there, but for necessitie.

Terrible notes for the rich niggard.

Further, your Lordship will that I write vnto you what I thinke of the duke of Veiue, which gathered so great treasure in his lyfe, that at his death he left soure hundred thousand Ducates. This is a matter perillous to write, and odious to heare: but in the ende (my iudgement is) that he wente to seeke care for himselfe, enute for his neyghbours, spurres for his enemies, a praye for theues, trauaile for his person, anguise for his spirite, scruple for his conscience, perill for his soule, lawe for his childe, and curses for his heyres. Great contention and debate goeth betwixt the olde duchesse and the yong Duke, and the Erle of Miranda, and others his kinsfolke and heyres, vpon the inheritance of his good, and the succession of his house: in such wise, that there be many that est-procure to inherit his money, and none that take the charge of his discharge. In the yeare 1509, I being sicke in Burgos, the Duke came to see me, and demanded who might properly be called couetous, for y he had asked many, & none had answered vnto his minde: and that which I answered at the soden, were these wordes: The man y sitteth in y smoke when he may warme himself by a faire fire: that may drinke god wyne, and drinke euill: that may haue a god garment and goeth hard and ragged: and that will lyue poorely to die riche: he alone and no other maye name couetous and wretched. And sayde further: Beleue me (my Lord Duke) that I holde hym a moze worthy man that dothe venter for parte his riches, than him that gathereth them together: because

The dead do here leaue their money, and carie awaye theyr sinnes.

Horrible to lye poorely, to die in great wealth.

bicause, for a man to be riche it is sufficient that he be diligent, but to employ his greate riches, he muste be a Gentleman, and noble minded. So that your Lordship doth demaund my opinion of this towne of Medina, I can saye vnto youre honour (to my iudgement) that it hath neyther grounde nor heauen, for the heauens are alwayes couered with Clowdes, and the grounde with dirt: in suche wise, that if the neighbourhood do call it Medina of the field, the Courtiers doe terme it Medina of the dirt. It hath a riuer that is called Sapardiell, which is so deepe and dangerous, that geese in sommer go ouer dye footed: and as it is a riuer narrow and muddie: it both prouide vs many eeles: and dothe couer vs with many Clowdes. For more, but that our Lord be your protector, and giue me grace to serue him. From Medina del campo, the xviij. of July in the yeare. 1532.

A letter vnto the Bishop of Tui, new president of *Granado*, in which is sayd, what is the office of Presidents.




Magnificent and most reuerend Lord, and regall iudge, I with the new provision that his maiestie hath bestowed vpon your honour for the Presidentship of this royal audience of *Granado*, may be fortunate. I can thewe youre lordship, that in this countrey you are more knowne by your fame, than by your person. Wherefore (as you know) you haue to trauaile that your life may be confor[mable] vnto your fame, also you haue to consider that if you come to iudge, you shall also be iudged, not of few, but of many: not of learning but of custome: not of goods, but of fame: not only in publique, but also in secret: not of waightie causes, but also of very small matters. One of the greatest traualys that Presidents haue, and suche as gouerne common wealthes, is, that they doe not onely iudge what they doe, but also what they

G. iij.

thinke:

thinke: not only the things that they doe in earnest, but also what they commit in iollie such sozt that all things whiche they doe not with seueritie, they iudge it soz lightnesse. Phartarke sayth in his politikes, that the Athenians did note in Simonides, that he spake loude. The Thebanes accused Parniculus that he spet much. The Lacedemonians sayd, that Licurgus went stouping. The Romains blamed Scipio, that he slepte snoztung. The Vticenses defamed the good Cato, that he did eat with both his cheekes. The enuies of Pompey murmured that he scratched with one finger. The Carthaginians repzoued their Hanniball, soz that he went lose with his garments: and the Sillanos charged Iulius Cæsar, that he went euill girt. Behold sir, how far the malice of man doth extend, and in what things the ycle (in the common wealth) do occupie them selues: to witte, that they prayse not, what the noble mynded doe take in hande as valiaunt men, but condemne that whiche they doe of negligence.

 With reason they mighte haue payrsed Simonides: that ouercame the battaile of Marathone: Parniculus that reskued Thebes: Licurgus, that refozmed his kingdom: Scipio that subdued Carthage: Cato, that susteined Rome: Pompeius, that augmented the Empire. Hanniball: that was of a mynd immoztall: and Iulius Cæsar, that thought it little to be Lord of the world. Wherof we may gather, that the people of a base soile do not speake of their betters and of the mightie: accordyng as reason directeth, but agréable to that whiche enuie dothe persuaue them. Plinie sayeth that the Romanes, onely in the pzouince of Vetica, held fise iurisdictions conuented: whiche is, that of Gades, Hispalis, Emeritans, Astaginensis, Cordubensis: they calied Andelozia, the Pzouince of Vetica: they named the Chauncellozships, iurisdictions conuented: Gades, was Calis: Hispalis, was Seuill: Cordubensis, Cordua: Meritensis, Merida: Astaginensis, Ecija. Of these fise Chauncellozships, the first and the greatesst was that of Calis: soz there was resident the Counsell of the Pzouince: and in Merida were the men of warre. I haue bzoughte all these antiquities into youre
 Lord.

Lordships memo^r is, thereby to be aduertised and also to consider: as there were then many presidents appointed to gouerne, ther were many of whom also to murmur: but now you being alone, y^e charge of murmuratiō wil light vpon you onely. The people of this countrey, are not lyke the people of your countrey: for here they be sharpe, subtle, and greates dissemblers: therefore I aduise and forwarne you, that in hearing them you vse leysure: and in your answers resolution. As you shall perceiue moze hereafter, they will applie moze vnderstandings to one word, than ther be gloes vpon the Bible. Conserue the in their auncient customs: rare not to attempt o^r bring in any new things: for nouelties doe alwayes bring displeasures to those that deale therein: and amongst the people, doth engender vnderstandings o^r offences. Stand alwayes vpon god aduilement: & walk alwayes vpon consideration: for in the houses of iudges, as many enter to view, as to dispatch matters. The house of Audience is verie moyst, old, narrowe, little, displeasent & darke; in such sorte, that it is rather to be puld downe than to dwel in: it wil greue your honor to see it, & offend you to inhabite the same, but in the ende, you haue to comfort your selfe, that your comming thither is not to dwel, but to amende your estate. My Lord president your predecessor, entred the same, Bishop of Malorca, & came fro thence, made bishop of Avila. And so may it please the Lord, as y^e now comes Bishop of Tui, y^e shall returne Archbishop of Ce- uilla: for it is now an auncient custome, that the presidentes be neuer remoued, vntill their estate be amended. Your Lordship may hold it for most certain, that the office of president is not a little honourable, but ioyntly therewith, verie tedious and burdensome. For that no man hath compassion of his trouble & all (if he take ease,) blasphemeth him. In this presidentship there is other trauell, which is, your friends haue licence to see you, and to speake vnto you, but your Lordship hath not libertie, to vse conference with them: for if you talk with any in particular, and admitte him to your secrete affaires: forthwith they will repozte the same to the audience, and also

Strange customs in a comon welth are perillous.

will talke in place, that you haue more abilitie to be com-
manded, than capacitie to command. In hard, graue, and
weightie matters, it is not repugnant to wisdom, neither
yet to conscience, for a Judge to confer with his friends, up-
pon this condicion, that they be neither affected or furious,
for there doubt nott shall be no, where will hath most force. In
such wise, ye ought to be constant, confer, talke, and also
cōsult with your familiar friends, that all men may thinke of
you, that they do cōsell, but not cōmaund you. Such as come
to be suters vnto you, are not to be answered sharply or with
rigor, a milde answer neuer offendeth: for if they go not
with hope to be despatched, it were not that they should be
part complaining of their answers. In the wayes, in the
cūstomes, and in the answers, that you shall use, deale with
euery one according as your Lordship shall perceiue the soli-
cition of his estate to requite: for other wise, some will prayse
you for iust, and other some note you of euill hurturs. Your
Lordship also hath to trauel in the common weale, to appeare
milde, pitifull, louing, and well wishing: in such sort, that
your rather sake to be praised for the bountie he use, than for
the authoritie you haue. Consent not to be furious, angry,
cruell, & absolute, for that Judges be bound to suffer infinite
injuries, and haue no licence to reuenge onely one. When at
any time you shall see occasion to be angrie, troubled, and also
injured, breake not forth into ire, nor speake any euill word.
For if the man that doth iniure vs, be discrete, we take no
small reuenge, if to his wordes we giue no answers. The
good President, ought to haue rectitude in iudgement, puritie
of life, quicknesse in dispatch, patience in his assayes, and
prudence in his gouernance. The which are vertues, be
in them selues so conuered, and in him so necessary, that he
shall not be so much profitte by the foure that he hath, as he
shall reueise offence by the one that he lacketh. At my selfe I
giue your Lordship to vnderstand, that two yeres since I haue
bin at the law in this audience, against the Church of To-
ledo, for the Abbay of Bala, in which, I haue sentence in my
fauour,

Notable cōdi-
tions of a good
President.

favour, Per omnia seculis Amen. My Lord, at this present, we
 be in degree of a revel, and soe that the matter dependeth in
 such estate, and maye not farther procede without the Pre-
 sidents, Nil iam superest, nisi quod descendas, et ponas manum super
 eam. In that your Lordship is President and I a suter, this
 letter suffreth not others in subord, nor permitteth much lesse
 service in woorkes. Ne imponimus utrimque glorie visum. Come
 your Lordship when you will with gladnes, and enter this
 audience in an happie houre, that as you know, positus est in
 ruinam, et in resurrectionem multorum. Our lawiers and officers
 olde and new, you shall find a secret College, dignum profecto
 subitum, et pro more, but our Lord be your protector, and give
 me grace to serve him. From Grindford the 12 of May, 1534.
 Thomas Cromwell

in a letter to the warden of *Abila*, in which he expounds the
first settled that of the Psalm, which saith, Let the wicked
descend into hell, and let the
living ascend into heaven.

Most reverent and sufficient religious father,
Ereox Antonius de Gruana, predicator of Chro-
nista Casaris: suo precordiali et aignardiano com-
plaisal. pla. mittit. Quamvis hactenus non scripsi
paternitati tue quoniam tibi deditus et affe-
ctus fui. Causa autem domine caritatis tue su-



it is moze to see the spirit whiche he giveth to the wordes he speaketh, than to all that hee can write vnto vs. *Eschines* the Philosopher, being banished by the Athenians to the *Rodes*, when vpon a certaine daye he related the Oracion that *Demosthenes* had made and written against him, he sayd vnto them: if ye had seene that beaue *Demosthenes* blason his wordes, and the spirit he had in speaking of them. Amongst the thirtie most famous tyrants that did destroy the common wealth of *Athenes*, *Pisistras* was one, in whose time the Philosopher *Damocritas* did floo: A man out of doubt of a reformed life, and most eloquent in his speech. Of this Philosopher *Damocritas*, *Pisistras* the tyrant, on a daye sayd vnto the Senate of *Athenes*: All manner of men of *Athenes*, and of Greece, may freely come and speak with me in their affaires, and say what appertaineth, except the Philosopher *Damocritas*, which may write vnto me, but not come and talke with me, for he holdeth such efficacie in his wordes, that he perswadeth to what hee will. *King Philip* (father to *Alexander* the great, besieging a certaine citie in Greece,) came to parles with those in the Citie, that if they would suffer the Philosopher *Theomastes* to enter, and to speake with them certaine wordes, he would depart and raise his siege: the Philosopher *Theomastes* had great eloquence in the wordes he did speake, and very great perswasion in things he would bring to passe, and so it chanced here, that he entring alone into the Citie, making his Oracion in the Senate: they did not only render them selves and open their gates, but also did kisse *King Philip*'s hands for hyng. In such wise, that the Philosopher had moze power with his wordes, than the King with his armes. I say this reuerend father, for that betwixt the hearing and reading of a sermon there is no small difference. For as the Apostle sayeth, the letter killeth, but the spirit quickneth. The authoritie of the Prophets be assured, the sermon goeth written as it was preached, but I giue you to vnderstand, it goeth despirited and bananery. And thus I haue said in answer. But comming to the purpose of that the Prophet saith: which

* The wordes of the eloquent containe great efficacie.

* A strange example of an Orator.

which is to witte: *descendant in infernum uiuentes*. The doubt
 is, how it may agree, that they may go downe to hell, being ^{A text of the}
 alīue; and being alīue, how they may be in hell. Saying, ^{Psalmist ex-}
 as the Prophet doth saye, (in an other Psalm) *Nō mortui*
laudabunt te Domine: nō omnes qui descendunt in infernum. If
 those that goe downe into hell; shall not there praise God, but
 blasphemise him: to what end doth the prophet commaund vs
 to descēd? To say that Orestes entred into hell, after the Nym-
 phes, and that Æneas descended thither to seke his father: and
 that the musicion Orpheus did fetch from thence his wife, and
 the valiant Hercules did breake the gates and bind the Giant
 Æchē; and the dog Cerberus: These may be termed poetical
 fictions, and no truthe: for the vnfortunate that is once ouer-
 taken with night in hell, for evermore there remaineth bu-
 ried; and he that can once tyme ly rise vp into Paradise, shall
 neuer more see night: for the clea shall there find day without
 night; and the damned shall find night without day. Being
 such as wee ought to be, wee may excuse our going to hell: but
 after that wee shall be entred thither; it is not in vs to re-
 turne againe. For ther is nothing more consonant to reason,
 thā that he which willingly came to the fault, against his wilk
 do suffer paine. For the prophet to saye, *descendant in infernum*
uiuentes, in my iudgement I durst say, that his meaning was
 to perswade vs, and to warne vs, that wee descēd into hell
 being alīue: that wee descēd not after wee be dead. Now let
 vs descēd into hell by contemplation, so that afterwards we
 descēd not to eternall dampnation. Let vs descēd thither
 by feare, that they carry vs not thither by rigour. Let vs descēd
 thither with god will, that they carry vs not by force.
 Let vs descēd by day, that they carry vs not at night. Let vs
 descēd alone, because they shall not compell vs to goe with
 companye. Let vs descēd in tyme, that wee maye retorne,
 because that after wardes they shall not carry vs to leaue vs
 there. Finally, I do saye, that it is an holy thing to descēd
 into hell, while we are alīue, to the ende wee descēd not whē
 wee be dead. They dayly descēd into hell that thinke vpon
 the

the gréuous paines and formentes that be ginen there for sinne. For there is no better salve to part vs frō our sinnes, than alway to carry the paine in memorie. For out of doubt, the paine of the dampned dothe withdraw vs from vices. Doe who will on pilgrimage to Mōserate, let them wander to get the subile of S. Iames: let him bow himselfe to our Lady of Gadalape: let him trauaile to S. Lazarus of Ciuill: let him send almes to the holy house: and let him offer his goods to S. Antony de Castro. But for my part I will no other station, but that vnto hell. Wee vnderstandeth not a little, nor occupieth himselfe in little, nor goeth not a little, nor takes in hand that is little, neither goeth on pilgrimage a little, that every day giueth a hoyt or a turne into hell. Once a yeare did the Hebrewes visit their temple. From fīue yeares to fīue, the Samnites did celebrāte their Lustros: from foure to foure yeares the Greekes did feast at their Olimpiades: from seven yeares to seven yeares, the Egyptians did renew the Temple of Iris: from ten to ten yeares, the Romanes did send presentes to the Oracle of Apollo: but he that is a faithfull and a true Christian, not from a time to so long a time, but every houre and every moment shall goe and come to hell. For of a perpetual paine, perpetual ought to be the memorie therof. In the pilgrimage to the holy House, there is cost, travell, and also perill: but those that every day do visite hell by contemplation: neyther haue cost, or passe travell, neyther runne in any kind of danger: For it is a pilgrimage that you goe on dīe sote, and is visited with standing still. Ob blessed is the Soule that every day by the stations of hell giues a turne, in which he doth behold, howe the proud be there brought downe: the enuious chastized: the gluttons pine with hunger: the furious grow milde: and the fleshly consumed. Wherefore, let the liuing descend into hell. To go this holy iorney, neyther weaknesse maye excuse vs, eyther pouertie let vs: for it dothe neyther commaunde vs to weare our persons, or that wee employe our goods, but that wee keepe our money and there to bestow our thoughtes. Wherefore let the liuing descend into hell.

It doth

It doth not seeme to me, ~~that~~ hath an vnmet painted stozie, & hath hell painted in his oratozie: for they are much more that abstain from sin for fear of the pain, than for loue of ~~the~~ glorie.

This is that I iudge of that text of the Psalmist, about the whiche (may it please the king of heauen) that euene as my pen hath written, my soule may alwayes ruminare: for as the Apostle sayth, not the hearers, but the doers shall be iustified. Vale. Iterumq; vale. From Madrid the .viij. of Ianuarie. 1524.

A Letter vnto sir Diego of Caminia, wherein istreated, how enuy raigneth in all men.



Magnificent and good Christian gentleman, you write vnto me, that you are much offended by many slanderers that deppaue your doings, & vnframe your attempts: I saye, to marshall the reat; you haue some occasion; but to be offended, you haue no reason. For in the ende, it is lesse euill that your neyboys enuy you, than that your

It is lesse euill to enue vs, than to pitie vs

friends shuld pitie you. The most ancient vice of this worlde is enuie, and that which shall not come but all the worlde be finished, is enuie. Adam, and the serpent: Abell and Cain: Iacob and Esau: Ioseph and his brethren: Saul and Dauid: Iob and Sathane: Achitophell; and Hewsey: Haman and Mardocheus: did not persecute each other for the goodes they did possesse: but for the enuie they had. Suche more is the enimitie that is sowne vpon enuie: than that which is sowne vpon iniurie. For the iniured man, dothe many times forget: but the enuious dothe neuer cease to persecute. More trauell and more long were the warres betwixt the Romans and the Carthaginians: than betwixt the Greeces and the Troians: For the Greeces did fight for the iniurie done vnto Helene and the others, who shoulde obtayne the segnorie of Burgey.

The

The causes of
hatred of Ju-
lius Caesar, and
Pompeius.

The mortall hatreds that fell betwixt those two great Ro-
maine Princes, Julius Caesar and Pompeius, was not for that
the one had iniured or euill dealt with the other: but for that
Pompeius had enuie at the great fortunes Julius Caesar had in
feyghting, and Caesar had enuie at the great grace Pompeius
had in gouernement. Two kinde of people were amongst the
Romaines: much famous and very glorious, to which is to wit:
the Dictators, that were very wise in gouernement, vnto
whom they erected pictures liuely counterfet; and the Consol-
les, which were skilfull in ordering of their batailles. And
to these were giuen triumphes. In such wise, that when
Rome was in hir great prosperitie, no seruise was left unre-
warded, no crime unpunished. Ther be few men in whom
all things do concur, and much lesse be those that want all
faultes: and if there be any man that is good, he is enuied, and
if he be euill, he is enuious. In such wise, that with the vice
of enuy, eyther we must persecute, or of some bee persecu-
ted. We may saue our selues from the liar, by not speaking
with him: from the proud, by not comparing with him: frō
the slothfull, by not troubling him: from the lecherous, in not
being conuersant with him: from the glutton, by not eating
with him: from the furious, by not chiding with him: from
the nigard, by asking him nothing. But from the enuious, it
is not sufficient to shie from him, much lesse to flatter him.
The vice of enuie is of such effect, that there is no tower,
which he doth not scale: no wal, that he doth not ouerthrow:
no mine, that he doth not countermine: no power, that he
doth not resist: neither man, against whom he doth not bend.
If in one man alone might be found the beautie of Absolon,
the strength of Sampson, the wisdome of Salomon, the swiftness
of Amell, the riches of Crassus, the liberalitie of Alexander, the
valiantnes of Hector, the eloquence of Homer, the fortune of
Iulius, the life of Augustus, the Justice of Traianus, & the yeale
of Cicero, let him hold it for certaine, that he shall not be so
indued with graces, as he shall be persecuted of the enuious:
the wolfe followeth the flock, the floure the cation, the stone
the

the ſloue, the flies, the Honie, men, the riches, and the enormous prosperitie: I would ſay, that naturally as wee haue compaſſion vpon the wretched, ſo haue we enuie at the prosperous. At the venom of Socrates, at the exile of Aſchines, at the hanging of Crefſus, at the deſtruction of Darius, at the miſchaunce of Pyrrhus, at the end of Cyrus, at the infamie of Cateſtine, at the miſfortune of Sophoniſa, none euer bare enuie, but pittie. One of the thynges by the whiche I knowe howe far the malice of man doth extend, is: in that to the miſerable & ouerthrowne, there is none that will giue his hand to helpe them vp: and to the riche and thoſe that are in fauoure, there wantes not that armeth ſtumbling blockes to make them fall. Let them perſwade themſelues whiche be riche of power, and priuate or in fauour, that their power and riches is not ſo great, as the malice and enuie of their neighbours is cruell. Sir I thought good to bring vnto youre memozye theſe olde thynges, to the end you ſhall not reſuſe to pay youre pounce of waxe, to be admitted into the brotherhode of enuie. I gyue you to vnderſtande, if you knowe not, that the brothers of the fraternitie of enuie, obſerue it as a principall office, to burie men quicke, and to rayſe vp dead men. This brotherhode of enuie is generous, ſoꝝ of them haue bin Chriſtians and infidels, aſent and preſent, riche and poꝛe, and all thoſe that be dead, and ſuch as be now alyue. They haue in that fraternitie, greate liberties and priuiledges; that is to ſaye, they repaire not to Chappels, but to houſes: they ſpeake not euill of the poꝛe, but of the riche: they doe not helpe, but binder: they giue not, but they take: they praye not, but they curſe: they abſtaine not from mans fleſhe, but from beaſts: they be not in doubt of their enemies, but of their frends: Finally they haue licence to murmur one of another, and neuer to common of the truth. Although this brotherhod be painfull and tedious, yet is it a ſigne of great miſerie not to be regiſtred in the ſame: ſoꝝ the man that hath not in this world ſome enemies, it is a note that of fortune he is much forgot. Plutarck in his Apophthegmes, ſpeaking of The-

Enuie be-
beth his artil-
lerie againſt
proſperitie.

Behold the
fraternitie of
enuie.

X
 mistocles, the renoumed Captaine of the Grekes sayeth, that
 one demanding why he was so sad: made answer: The so-
 row that I haue is, for that in .xvij. yeare since I was borne, I
 thinke not that I haue haue done any thyng wortbie memo-
 rie, bicause I see no man in all Athens beareth me enuy. The
 first tyzant that was in Sicile, the auncients doe affirme, was
 Herion, the second Celon, the thirde Dionysius the Syracusan,
 the fourth Dionysius the yong man, the fifth Taxillo, the sixte
 Brudanus, the seuenth Hermocrates: of the which seuen, to this
 day the Scicilians do as much complayne, as the Greekes doe
 boast themselves of their seuen sages. The lasse tyzant Her-
mocrates, approaching neare to death is reported to haue said
unto his sonne: Sonne, the last words I say unto thee, is, be:
not enuious in condiction, but do such deedes as there fore thou
maist be enuied. Surely, these wordes were not wordes of a
 Tyzant, but of a very wise man. For he commaunded by the
 same, that he should be vertuous, and forbade him to be malicio-
 us. Sir I sayd unto you in the beginning of this letter, that
 although you had some occasion, yet had you no iust reason to
 beare your selfe, neither to desist in welldoing. For of two euils
 the lesse euill is, to consent that they murmur of well doing,
 then to leaue to do well.

Sir from hence there are few things to write of, but that,
 if you haue there too many euill tongues, here we haue no
 want of blasphemies, whiche do neither make exception of
 God, or pardon the King. Two times I haue moued the Car-
 dinall Tortosa in your busines: & if I be not deceyued, as great
 is his forgetfulness, as my diligence. We that be in thys
 Court, aduise our selues to seeke that whiche we may, when
 we cannot what we desire. No more, but our Lorde be youre
 protector, and giue me grace to serue him. From Valiodolid,
 the xxvj. of October. 1520.

A letter vnto sir Iohn of Mónicada, in whiche is declared
what thing is Ire, and how good is patience.



Expectable Gentleman and magnificent
Knight, if it shall seme vnto you that I
aunswer youre Letters with slacknesse,
impute the fault to Palome your seruant
which halteth, and the horse whereon he
rideth is lame, the way long, the winter
hard: and I also am always in businesse,
although from the same I haue gathered small profit: and as
I suspect, if this your seruant haue made any tarriance vppon
the way in comming hither, or hath made small hast in retur-
ning thither, it hath proceeded of a certayne combat with loue
that he hapned to encounter by the way. Wherein, you may
then well thinke how much rather he would accomlishe the
loue that he beares in his best, than with your letters that he
carieth in his bosome. If you will credit me, to men inamored
you shall neuer commend your busines: For his office is not
to be occupied in other affayres, but in wryting letters, wat-
ching at corners, playing on gitterns, climbing of walles, and
betwing of windowes. As concerning that which you wryte
vnto me in youre letter, I shall aunswer you moze briesly
than your desire, and moze largely than I may. Considering
how I goe to the Inquisition to reforme, and to the Court to
preach: and every day in Cæsars Chronicles to wryte. My busi-
nes is ouermuch, and my time too little. By the holy God I
do sweare, that as many courtiers which be idle in this court,
I do moze enuie the time they lose, than the money they pos-
sele. But comming to the purpose, I do sweare by the lawe
of a friend, I haue bene as muche greued for your greate
miscance and misfortune, as if it had bin myng owne cause.
For as Chilo the Philosopher said: the miscances of a friend
we must not onely remedy them, but also bewayle them. A-
gesilaus the Greek being demanded for what cause he did moze
lament the beautesse of his friends, than the death of his chil-

Courtiers
loose time.

X

open, made answer: I do not betwaille the want of my wife, the losse of my goodes, or the death of my children: for al these are partes of my selfe: but I betwaille the death of my friend, which is an other my selfe. Sir, I saye thus muche, since I may not be there present to lamente with you, neither doe I here finde my selfe of power sufficient to remedie your case, I will wyite some letter to comfozte you. For sometimes the pen bleseth no lesse pitie with the friende, than the launce doth crueltie with the enimie, to perswade that you shoulde not feele, that which reason would you shoulde so muche feele: it shuld be iust occasion for me to be woorthily noted with want of due consideration, and you accused to be insensible. That which I dare speak in this matter is, that you conceyue therof as a man, and dissemble the same as aduised and discrete. The iniuries that touche our honour, done by suche of whom we may not be reuenged, the most sounde counsell is, to let it tal, since with due vengeance it may not be quited. If in these present graues you wil take the order of a Christian, & leaue the way of a wooldy knight, you shall fixe your eyes (not on him that doth persecute you) but in God that doth permit the same: befoze whō you shal find your self so faultie, that that is little whiche you suffer, in respect of that ye deserue to suffer. Moreover, ye ought to thinke, that tribulations whiche God permitteth, be not to lose vs, but to proue vs. For in the booke of God they set downe no man as quited, but he that is apte so; trauell: and amongst those of the woold, they giue wages to none but vnto him that is giuen to wantonnesse.

Iniuries done
by the almighty
are to bee
dissembled.

Sir you wyite vnto me that I certifie you what thing is anger, and the definition therof. To see if you may forget the dispise of him that hath done you so cruel an outrage to know what thing is Ire, and to cut of the furious crosse of his rage. Sir, it seemeth to me no euill counsell (the very troth being known) many times it is moze securitie for him that is iniured to dissemble the iniurie, than to reuenge it.

Wise men
saye

X

Aspidius saith, that ire is no other thing, but an inflaming of the bloud: and an alteration of the hart. Possidonius saith,

sayth, that ire is no other thing, but a short foolishnes. Cicero
sayth, that which the Latins do call ire, the Greeks do name de-
sire of vengeance. Eschines sayth, that ire was caused of the
fume of the gall, and of the brate of the heart. Macrobius sayth
there is much difference betwixte ire and testinesse: because
ire groweth of an occasion, and testinesse of euill condition.
The diuine Plato sayeth, that the faulte is not in anger, but
in hym that giues occasion. Laertius sayth, when the chastise-
ment excēdes the fault, then is it vengeance, and not zeale;
But when the fault doth excēde the chastisements, it is zeale
and no vengeance. Plutarke sayth, that the priuiledges of ire,
are not to beleue our friends, to be rash in attempts, to haue
the cheekes inflamed, to vse quicknesse with y^e handes, to haue
an vnbydled toling, at euery word to vse ouerthwartnesse, to
be furrish for small causes, and to admitte no reason. Solon
Solonio being demāden whom we cal properly irous, answer-
ed, he that little esteemeth to lose his friendes, and maketh
no account to reconer enemies. After so manie and so grāue
philosophers, that which I dare say is, that the vice of ire, is
lightly wyrtten, easy to perswade, pleasaunt to preach, ready
to counsell, and very difficile to refrayne. Of any vice wee
may speake euill, but of the vice of anger we may say much,
and very much euil. For ire doth not only transform vs into
foles, but also maketh vs of al men to be abhorred. To tem-
per ire is sufficiently vertuous: but utterly to expell it, is a
thing moze thā sure. For all things that are euill of themsel-
ues, and of condition hurtfull, are moze easily resisted than
throwne away. In the beginnings, many thinges be in oure
owne handes, to admit or to send them away: but after they
haue taken power ouer vs (if by chaunce reason rise against
them) they say they will not depart, since they be in posses-
sion. Ire hath so euil a condition, that of one only tyme that we
yeelde him our will, he afterwards maketh our will vnto all
that he liketh.

The frefull of
al men and at
all times ab-
horred.

*

In the Magistrates that gouerne the common wealthe,
we condemne not the good or euill correction they vse: but the

In him that
gouerneth, ire
is perillous.

greate furie they shewe in the same. For if they be bounde to chastise the offences, they haue not licence to shew themselves passioned. Those that offend, it is a thing very iust y they remaine not unpunished: but this punishment must not be suche, that it appeare that they take some great vengeance: for be a man neuer so hote, without comparison he dothe more feele the hate that they shewe, than the chastisements to which they giue. The whip, the staffe, the sword, & the punishment that is giuen to the fleshe, although it be greuous, yet it soon passeth: but the iniurious worde the heart neuer forgetteth. For a man to be in power and authoritie, and to refraine his anger, it is not an humaine vertue, but heroicall and diuine. For in this world, there is not a more high or excellent kind of triumph, than a man to triumph ouer his owne heart. So creates the Philosopher, holding his dagger in his hand to strike one of his seruantes (the same already lifted vp) sayde: remembering my self that I am a philosopher, & that at this present I am angrie, I wil not giue thee thy deserved chastisement. For example so certayne worthe to be noted, and muche more to be embraced and followed. Of which we may gather, that during the tyme that ire hathe vs in possession, we ought not to dare to speake, and muche lesse anye man to chastise.

A notable example to re-
fraine ire.



An example
of the heathen
to be noted
and learned.

Licurgus the Philosopher, commanded these that gouerned his common wealth: that all euill and dishonest things they shoulde condemne and chastise; but yet by no means, abhorre the malefactor, saying, that there could not be amongst the people, a more greuous plague than a iudge that woulde make himselfe drunken with furie. There be few that follow this counsell, and verie manie that do the contrarie: for now a days there is none that is angred with the offence, but with the offender. For my part (and also for those that shall) it is a great trauaile to trafike or deale with furious, impatient, and men of euill suffering: for that they are impossible to see, and of conuersation very perillous. Since I haue said what thing is ire, and the hurtes that are done by ire: now let

let vs say, what remedies may be giuen against ire. For my meaning is not to teache you to be angrie, but to be patiente. I dare auouch, that it is a great remedie agaynst ire, when a man is angred to refrayne the tongue, and to deferre vengeance untill an other tyme. For that many tymes a man both say and promise bearing in choler, thinges the while afterwarde he woulde not shoulde haue once passed by his thoughtes. With the present we must not be importunate to entreate a pardon, no not from the foote to the hand, but only to desire that vengeance be deferred. For during furie, there is no accompte to be made that the iniured will pardon, excepte he be quieted with the man that is furious and in choler: for any one to seek to bring him to agreement, or to iustice, eyther it is lacke of witte, or diligence more than needeth. For the ire that is muche inflamed, and the heart that is kindled with furie, neyther doth admit consolation, or is overcome with reason. I doe aduise and readuise the man that presumes to be wise, that he take not in hand to contend with him that is inflamed with ire. For if he faile to follow counsell herein, when he scrapeth best, he shal eyther haue his honour reiled, or his head broken. Although a man be a frind vnto him that is offended, he doth him more profite to let him alone, than to speake vnto him, or help him. For at y instant he hath more neede of a bit to bydle him, than a spur to quicken him. With the man that is in a rage, it is more neede to vse skill than to deale by force. For although he were angred at the sodain, the pacifying of him must be at leisure. Plutarch in the booke of his comon wealth doth counsell the Emperoure Traiane that he be patiente in his trauayles, mylbe in his assayes, and of muche suffering amongest the furious; affirming and swearing, that many mo thyngs be chured by tyme, than framed and agreed by reason. Yet with noble personages we haue seene greates quarelles, whiche passions and furies mighte not be stayed by entreataunce of friends, threatning of enemies, giftes of money, neyther yet with wearinesse of trauayles: And after that tyme hath had
his

his course (and calling them to remembrance) haue agreed amongst themselves, without the request of any friende to talke therein. Finally, I say, that when a friende doth see the choler of his friende inflamed, if hee will doe him good, lette hym caste on water with temperance to coole hym; and not wood with furie to burne him. I (Mr John) haue enlarged this Letter muche more than I thoughte, and also more than I desyred, but that your exceeding payne and sorowes haue made my penne discourteous, to suffer, vse silence, and dissemble, and let the tyme passe, and somewhat forget the matter. For if I bee not deceived, you shall see, the fire that they made at your gates, burne in their entrayles. Salomon the Hebrew sayde, that the wise man bath his tongue in his hearte; and he that is a cole and furious, bath his heart in his tongue. Agis the Greeke sayd, that the foolish man is grieved with that whiche he doth suffer, and boasteth himselfe of that whiche he hath spoken. And the wise is grieved with that whiche he hath spoken, and boasteth himselfe of that he doth suffer. Nowe or neuer it is needfull, that you profyte your selfe of your science and wisdom: For it is a spice of no small foolishnesse, to knowe to cure others, and not to remedie your selfe. I am not forgetful, that when my sister the Lady Francis died in Mexia hir towne, you did write me so many and so good thinges, that they were sufficient to lyghten me of the payne, althoughe not altogether of the sorowe. And sir, I saye it for this cause, that it shall bee greatly to your owne purpose, to take some grapes of the same vine.

As concerning the reste, I haue no more to write vnto you, but that the credite whiche your seruante broughte with your letter, in that he should say vnto me, the selfe same credite, my letter doth giue him, in that whiche he shal answere. From Toledo the 25. of Aprill, 1523.

As concerning the reste, I haue no more to write vnto you, but that the credite whiche your seruante broughte with your letter, in that he should say vnto me, the selfe same credite, my letter doth giue him, in that whiche he shal answere. From Toledo the 25. of Aprill, 1523.

A letter vnto Sir Ierome Vique, in whiche is treated,
how great libertie is much hurtfull.



Ight magnificent and Cæsars Em-
balladour, I being in Granado the
xx. of July, receiued a letter from
your worship. And considering it
came so farre as it is from Valentia
to Granado, he hath made good speed
vpon the waye, since he departed
from thence the Saturday and came
hither the Monday. Comming as

you come from so strange a countrey as is Rome, and hauing
passed so dangerous a Sea as is the gulse of Narbona, I will
not demaund if you came safe: But giue God thanks for
that you are come aliuie. I wishe (if it please the Lord) that
you come from Italy so sound in bodie and so perfect in soule,
as when you parted from Spaine: for in new countreyes al-
waies there is learned new fashions.

The good Licurgus did commaund the Lacedemonians, that
neither out of the kingdome they should goe to traffike, or
suffer straungers to enter their countrey, saying: That if
kingdomes grow rich by trading with straungers, they turne
poore of their proper vertues. Speaking the trueth and also
with libertie, I haue seene few come from Italie, that came
not absolute and also dissolute: and this, not because the land
is not consecrat with saints, but for that it is now inhabited
with sinners. The properties of the belles, are to call men
to come to service, & neuer enter into the church them selues;
and in my iudgement, such is the condition of Italie, where
there be great wanduaries that prouoke vnto prayer, and the
people thereof hath no deuotion. Many doe say that all the
weale of Italie consisteth in libertie. I say that all their hurt
riseth by want of subiection: because, for men to doe all that
they will, they come to doe that, whiche they ought not. If
Trogus Pompeius do not deceiue vs, the Romanes giuing li-

For the doubt
of vice, libertie
refused,

radatio

*

bertie to the Bactrians for that they had succoured the Consul
Rufus in the Spartian warres, they refused it, saying, that,
that day they should be made free, they should commit where-
by desperately to be slaves. Speaking the truth, there be no
common wealthes more lost than those where the people be
most at libertie. For the condition of libertie is, to be of many
desired and of few well employed: where there is no subiec-
tion, there is no king: where there is no king, there is no law:
where there is no law, there is no Justice: where is no Ju-
stice, there is no peace: where there is no peace, there is con-
tinuall warre: and where there is warre, it is impossible that
the common wealth may long endure. Neuer might the
mighty Rome be brought vnder by the Greeks, the Carthagi-
nians, the French, the Hunnes, the Epirotes, the Sabines, the Sam-
nites, and Hetrurians: but finally it came to ruine and was lost,
by the pride they had in commaunding, and the much libertie
in sinning. The diuine Plato did say many times to the Athe-
nians when he sawe them goe so at large: take heed you Athe-
nians to your selues, & lose not by your viciousnes, that which
you haue wonne by your valiauntnes. For I giue you to vn-
derstand, that libertie asketh no lesse wisdom to conserue it,
than valiauntnes to obtain it. Experience teacheth daylie, how
in a free comon wealth, they do more hurtes, they speak more
blasphemies, they commit more offences, they raise more scan-
dals, more good be defamed, and more theft attempted, onely
of two yongmen at libertie, than of two hundred that be sub-
iect. If curiously we do behold, of a troth we find that they doe
not drowne in welles, whip, banishe, cut the throttes, hang,
cut of eares, nor put in prison, but lost men that spends their
time in vanities, and employ their libertie in vices.

In the life of man ther is not the like riches to libertie, but
jointly therewith, there is nothing more perillous than ther
is, if they know not to measure hir and vse hir according to
reason: libertie ought to be wonne, procured, bought, succor-
red and defended: but jointly with this, I do warne, giue
counsell, and also aduise him that shall haue hir, that he vse
hir

Libertie cras-
ueth wisdom,

bir (not when the appetite shall require) but when reason shall giue licence: For otherwise, thinking that he had libertie for all his life, he shall not enioye hier a month. The libertie of Phalaris did trouble the Greekes: that of Roboam lost the Hebrewes: that of Cateline did offend the Romanes: that of Ingurtha defamed the Carthaginians: that of Dionysius detayd the Scicilians: and in the end, the common wealth had an end of their troubles, and they of their liues and tyrannies. Many men there be that leane to dos euill, because they will not: but much moze are they that cease, because they cannot. Many there be that doe abstaine for conscience, and many moze for shame: many do refraine for loue, but many moze for feare: many liue with a desire to be good, & many moze for feare to be dishonored. But yet for fear, or for loue, or for conscience, or else for shame: alwaies we must stay our selues by the truth, & cut of the sway of libertie. For if we giue the bzidle to sensuality, & doe not shut the doze to libertie, we shall haue what to think vpon by daye, and also wherefoze to weepe by night.

Sir, I thought good to bzing this to your memozie, to the ende, that since you come from Rome, you be not ouer careful to boast your selfe of the customes thereof. For you shall vnderstand (if ye know not) that the fashions of Italie are moze pleasaunt to be recounted, than sure to be followed. If you call to remembraunce the generositie of Rome, the libertie of the neighbours, the varietie of the people, the galantnes of the women, the pléty of victualles, the goodnes of the wines, the mirth and ioye at their feastes, & the magnificécy of their Pallaces: you haue therewith to remember, y there where gods be spent, the conscience is charged, and also many times y soule is lost. The Romish people in Rome many of them be good, but the strange people y are stayed in Italie, for y moze part are euill, for they be but very few that goe thither with deuotion, but they be infinite that be lost in wandzing after their fleshy lustes. Rome is not now in y power of the Christians, as it was in the time of the heathen, for then being the mother of all vertues, she is now turned to y schole of al vices.

Leauing

Leaving this aparte, what shall we say of a pöze priest that goeth to Rome thzough Spaine, Fraunce, and Lumbardy, and befoze hee can get sentence of his benefice, he cõmittes a thousand vices, spendes his money, and doth a thousand wicked deedes? I say for myne own part, that I was at Rome, I sawe Rome, I visited Rome, and did behold Rome: in which I sawe many things that gaue deuotion, & other things that brought me to admiration. Oh how much, and how much is betwixt the custömes of Italie, and the law of a pure christian?

Twelue cõdi-
ciõs of Rome,
varyng from
Chyistes law.

1 For in the one they saye, that ye maye doe all that you will, and in the other, nothing but what you ought to do.

2 In the one, that you be a comfort to all men, and in the other, that you shall denie to procure to be saued.

3 In the one, that you haue much conscience, and in the other, that you make no accompt of shame.

4 In the one, that you trauell to be a good Christian, and in the other, that you care to be very rich.

5 In the one, that you liue cõsozmable vnto vertue, in the other, that you care not but to enioye libertie.

6 In the one, that for any thing you shal not speake a lye, in y other, y in case of interest, you make no accõpte of truth.

7 In the one, that you liue onely with your own, and in the other, that also you take profit of other mennes.

8 In the one, that alwaies you remember to dye, & in the other, that for nothing you leaue to lead an ill life.

9 In the one, that alwaies you occupie your self in know ledge, & in the other, y you giue your self to be of much power.

10 In the one, that you impart of that you haue with the pöze and friends, and in the other, that alwaies you keepe for deare yeares.

11 In the one, that you vse much silence, and in the other, that you presume to be very eloquent.

12 In the one, that you belöue onely in Chyist, and in the other, that you procure to haue money. If you my Lord Embassadoz, with these xy. conditions wilbe a Romane, much good may it do you. For vpon the day of account, you would rather

rather haue bin a labozer in Spaine, than an Embassadour at Rome. No moze, but that our Lord be your protectoꝝ, and to you and to me be giue good endings. From Granado, in the yeare 1525. the days and moneth aforesaid.

A letter vnto the said Sir Ierome Vique, in whiche is declared an Epitaph of Rome.



Ight magnificent Embassadour to Cæsar: by your letter that I haue receiued, I was certified y^e to you was deliuered an other of mine, wherein I haue vsed no curious care: For vnder your good condicion, there is no place for any thing to be dispraysed, much lesse to be condemned. Mosen Rubine aduertised me, that by sleeping in an ayry place, you haue bin very reumatike, which I certainly beleue hath proceeded of the great beate of the moneth of August, but by my aduise you shall not vse it, neither others so giue counsell: for that it is lesse euill in sommer to sweate than to cough.

I condiction at
be in braced.

You write, and also send vnto me certaine Gothicke letters, that you haue found wzitten in an auncient place in Rome, whiche you can neither reade, or they in Italy can declare. Sir I haue very well sene, considered, and also reconsidered them: and to him that is not acquainted with this Romish cyphringes they seeme illegible, and not intelligible, and that to vnderstand and read them well, it were necessary that the men that bee a line shoulde deuine, or those that wrote them shoulde rise from death to life. But to expound these letters, no dead man shall bee rayled, either am I a soothsayer or diuine. I haue tyed my wittes, and called to remembrance, I haue ouerturned my Bookes, and also haue ouerlooked meruailous and many histories, to see and to know who it was that did write them, and wherefoze they were wzitten: and in the ende, as there is nothing that one man doth, that another can not do, or that one man knoweth, and an other knoweth.

knoweth not, your good luck wold, and my great diligence, that I met with that whiche you desired, and I sought for. And for that it shall not seeme that I speake without Woke, in few wordes I will recite the hystory.

In the times of Octavius Augustus the Emperour, there was in Rome a Romane Knight named Titus Annius (verely a man) of great experience in causes of warre, and right wise in the gouernment of the common wealthe. There was in Rome an office that was called Tribunus Scelerum, & this had the charge of all criminall causes, whiche is to wit, to hang, to whip, to banish, to cut th'eautes, and to drowne in welles: in such maner, that the Censor did iudge the Ciuill, and the Tribune the Criminall. This office amongst the Romanes was of great preheminence, and of no lesse confidence, they neuer incommended the same but to a man of noble blood, auncient in yeares, learned in the lawes, in life honest, and in iustice very moderate: for that all these condicions did concurre in Titus Annius, hee was by the Emperour Augustus in the office of Tribune named, by the Senate confirmed, and of the people allowed. Titus Annius liued and was resident in this office xxb. yeres, in all whiche time hee neuer spake to man any iniurious word, either did any iniustice. In remuneration of his trauell, and in reward of his bountie, they gaue him for priuilege that hee shoulde be buried within the walles of Rome, and that hee should bury by him selfe some money, and that in that sepulcher there shoulde not any other be buried. For a man to be buried in Rome, was amongst the Romanes a great preheminence, the one was bycause the priests did consecrate the sepulcher, and the other for that malefactors to flie vnto sepulchers, were moze woorth than the temples. But now these letters woulde saye, that Titus Annius (Judge of the faultie) by him in his sacred sepulcher did hide certaine money, whiche is to wit, ten fote off, and that in the same sepulcher the Senate doth commaund, that none of his heyyes be buried. This Titus Annius when hee died left his wife aliue that was named Cornelia, whiche in the sepulcher of hir husband

I reward
after death,

band did set this Epitaphe. The authors of this history are Vulpicius, Valerius, Trebellius. And because the declaration of the history shall appeare more cleare, let vs set the exposition ouer euery letter, and these be the letters.

Titus.	Annius.	Tribunus.	Scelerum.	Sacro.	A darke Epitaph expounded.
T.	A.	T.	Sce.	S.	
Suo.	Sepulcro.	Pecuniam.	Condidit.	Non.	
S.	S.	P.	Con.	N.	
Longe.	Pedes.	Decem.	Hoc.	Monumentum.	
Lon.	P.	X.	H.	M.	
Heres.	Non.	Sequitur.	Iure.	Senatus.	
H.	N.	S.	I.	S.	
Cornelia.	Dulcissima.	Eius.	Coniux.	Posuit.	
Cor.	D.	E.	Con.	P.	

Behold here my Lord Embassadoz your letter s expounded, and not dreamed, and in my iudgement this that we haue said they would say, and if you be not satisfied with this interpretation, let the dead expound them that did write them, or those bee whiche aline that gaue them. No more but that our Lord be your protectoz, and giue vs grace that we ende in his seruice. From Toledo the third of April. 1526.

A letter vnto the Bishop of *Badaios*, in whiche there is declared the auncient lawes of *Badaios*.



Right magnificent and Cæsars Precor, I receaued a letter from your Lordshippe, with the whiche I did much reioyce my selfe before I did read it, and after that I had reade it, I remained no lesse offended: not for that whiche you had writtten vnto me, but for that you commaunded me, and also demaunded of me. (If Plutarch do not deceane vs,) into the chamber of Dionisius the Siracusan none did enter: in the libzarge of Lucullus no man sate downe.

X He is depriv-
ed of libertie,
that discou-
reth a secret.

down: Marcus Aurelius with the key of his study, (no not with his Faustine) did vse any trust: and of a troth they had great reason: bycause there be things of such qualitie, that not only they ought not to be dealt withall, neither yet to be looked vpon. *Eschines* the Philosopher said, that for very great friendship that might be betwixt one and other, he ought not to shew him all thinges in his house, nor to communicate with him all that he thinkes in his hart: saying that a man is no more himselfe, than that he holdeth secret in himselfe. It is long since I commended vnto my memozye, that sentence of the diuine *Plato*, wher it is said: that vnto whom we discouer our secret, we giue our libertie. I say this vnto your Lordship, for that if I had not consented that your Secretarie shoulde enter my studie, neither had he bin a babler, or your Lordship impoztunate. Your honoz saith that he said, he had sene in my libzary a banke of olde bookes, whereof some were Gothike, Latin, Greeke, Calde, and Arabic, and that he forgat not to steale one, which made much for your purpose. In that he said vnto you, he said very troth: and in that he did, he did me much displeasure, for that amongst the learned, iesses do extend euen to the speaking of woordes: but not to the stealing of bookes.

As I my Lord haue no other goddes to lay vp, nor other pastimes wherewith to recreat me, but bookes that I haue procured, and also sought in diuers kingdomes: beleeue me one thing, whiche is, that to take my bookes, is as much as to pull out my eyes. Of my naturall condiciou, I was euer an enemy to new opinions, and a great friend of olde bookes: for if *Salomon* say, *Quid in antiquis est sapientia*, for my part I do not beleue, that the wisdomie lyeth in bozheades, but in olde bookes. The good king *sir Alonso* that toke Naples, did vse to say that all was but trash, except drie wood to burn, an olde bozse to ride, olde wine to drinke, olde frenches to be conuersant, and olde bookes to reade in. Olde bookes haue great advantage of the newe, whiche is to wit, that they speake the trueth, they haue grauitie, and do shew authozitie: of whiche it fol-

it followeth, that we maye reade them without scruple, and alledge them without shame.

The case is this, that in the yeare 1523. I passing thorough the Towne of Safra, came to a Booke binders shop, whiche was tearing out leaues of an olde parchment booke to couer another new booke, and knowing that the booke was better to reade in, than to make coverings, I gaue him for the same viij. Rialles of plate, & also would haue given him viij. Ducates. Now Sir, you shal vnderstand, that the booke was of the lawes of Badaios, that king Allonso the xj. made, a Prince that was very valiant, and not a little wise. This is the booke that your Secretarie did steale from me, whiche he carried vnto you, and it hath pleased me muche that you haue seene it, and haue not vnderstood it: in suche wise, that if you render it, it is not because ye haue desire to make restitution, but for that you will I make exposition thereof.

The rest of this letter is the exposition of certaine olde lawes, wherein there ariseth this maruell, that the Castilian speche (but in a few hundzeth yeares) is so altered, and the prices of their things so chaunged, that not only the common people, but also a Bishop of the same countrie, craved an interpreter of the sayd lawes.

A letter vnto Syr Iohn Palamos, wherein is declared whiche was *Saians* horse, and the Gold of *Tholose*.



Right noble Knight, I haue receyued your letter and your complaint therein, wherevnto answering, I say, that I haue bin much busied in certaine affaires whiche Caesar hath commanded, (during the expedition whereof) I haue had no time to pray my houres, muche lesse to aunswere your letters missiue. It came vnto Caesars vnderstanding, that the Duke of Sogorbe, and the Monkes of the vale of Paradise did beare each other ill will, and did vse euill neighbourhod: for whiche cause hee com-

I.

maun

maunded, that I shoulde visite them, and traualle to bring them agréed: whiche I did of very good will, although not without great difficultie. In fourtie dayes that I was there, I neither wente to walke, either did occupie my selfe in preaching, eyther giue my selfe to studie: but all my exercise was to see priuiledges, to visit boundes, to heare quarells, and to appease iniuries. And for that these affaires were of importance, and betwixt personages of so great authoritie: I passed immeasurable trauel befoze I could make them frendes, and remoue their griefes. I haue said all this, to the ende you shoulde holde me the rather excused, for not answering so soone vnto your letter: and for not accomplishing that whiche I promised you in the grades of Valentia: but the case was this. The Prince of Borbon passing by Valentia, we saw in a certaine cloth of his tapistrie a horse, whiche had at his sette knightes throlwen downe and dead. And in the best of the horse was a writing in whiche was sayde, *Equus Scianus*: as one would saye, this is Saians horse. Sparterie lousye did they of the Citie beholde this cloth, and no man vnderstode what the blason of that horse might signifie: some saide it was the hystorie of Iosue, some of Iudas Machabeus, some of Hector, some of Alexander, other some of Cirrudias. After that maner euery man did speake as hee did gesse, but no man as hee did knowe for troth. There was in that troupe a gentleman which said, that that was king Don Martin his horse which won Valentia of the Moors, & that they were true kings of the Moors that hee killed in one daye: and his horse was named Seian, for that he was of Sogorbe. And bycause there was no man that did knowe the secret of that hystorie but I (that held my peace) hee did so sweare and forswear, and also affirme it so true, as if he had recompted a storie of the Bible. Considering he was a knight, in bloud Generouse, of goods rich, & of yeares auncient, (although in his wordes very lying) I would not there declare presently the misterye of that horse, bycause others should not haue wherewith to deride him, or the poore gentleman wherfoze to be displeased; Minus Publicanus, the

Philos.

And hee
 16. 3. rap.
 9.

It cometh a
 Gentleman to
 tell a lye.

Philosopher said, that with old men that be vaine bablers and
tonglers, we ought to haue more respect to their hoise beares
that they possesse, than to the wordes they speake.

The historie of Saians hoise is written by very graue au-
thors, whiche is to wit: Cayus Balsianus, Iulius Modestus, and
Aulus Gellius in the third Booke that hee made *de noctibus At-*
tica. And I doe aledge these authors, for that no man shall
thinke it is a compound fable, but that of a troth it did passe,
as here wee shall recount the historie, resiting it from the
foundation.

The great Hercules the Thebane, after that hee had slaine
Diomedes in Thracia, brought with him to Greece, a certaine
race of hoises y Diomedes had bred, which of their own proper
nature were in colour sayre, of stature large, in condicions
gentle, and in battell couragious. Of the race of these there
was bred an hoise in the province of Argose, whose proportiō
was, a high crest, beare to the ground, sit nostrilles, sure houned,
well membez, broad buttocks, a long tayle, great eyes, a
soft skinne, colour baye, and aboue all, of courage marue-
lous fierce. This hoise being yet but a colt, they came from
Asia, from Palestina, from Thebes, from Pentapolis, and from
all Greece, by the meane of his fame: some to see him, others
to buy him, and other some to praise him and set him a sale
to the people: for there was no person that desired not to see
him, and much more to haue him. And in this world, as there
is not a thing so perfect, in whiche there is not some imperfec-
tion, the destiny of this hoise was so accursed: for all they
that bred him, bought him, and did ride him, died miserable
and infamed. And for that it shall not seeme that wee speake
at large, and doe recounte an historie very suspicious: briefe-
ly we will touche who were they that bought this hoise and
did possesse him, and also the great misfortunes that came
vnto them by the same.

In the yeare CCCxij. from the foundation of Rome,
Quintus Cincinatus the Dictator being dead, the Romanes did
choose a Roman Consull into Grecia that was named Cneius

Saianus, a man in bloud holden famous, and for gouernement in the common wealth very wise. When the Consull Cneius-Saianus went into Greece, that horse was a Colt of thirtie monethes, the which he cheapened, bought, and brake, and was the first that did ryde him. And for that this Cneius Saianus being in Rome, did follow the partialtie of Octavius Augustus: a yeaere after hee went into Greece, and not six moneths after hee had bought that horse, Marcus Antonius commaunded his head to be cut off, and also his body to be vnburied. This maye it appeare, that Cneius Saianus was the first that bought and brake this horse, and also did experiment by death his vnhappy destenie. They named him then, (and from thence forwarde,) Saianus horse. Cneius Saianus being beheaded, there succeeded him in the office of Consulship, a certayne Romaine named Dolabella: whiche immediatly being Consull, did buy that horse for an hundred thousand Sester-cios: and surely if hee had knowen the euill that hee bought vnto his house (I think) hee would haue giuen an other hundred thousand not to haue bought him. Within a yeaere after the Consull Dolabella had bought that horse, there arose in the Citie of Epirus (where hee was resident) a popular sedition, in whiche the sorrowfull Dolabella was slaine, and also drawen throughe the streates. The Consull Dolabella being dead, another Consull was desirous to buy that horse, whose name was Caius Calsius, a manne whome Plutarch writeth to haue borne great office in Rome, and to haue done great deedes in Africa. Not two yeaeres after, the Consul Calsius had bought that vnhappy horse, they gaue him suche herbes at his dinner, that within an houre, hee, his wife and children lost their liues, not hauing time to speake one word. The Consull Caius Calsius being dead, the famous Romaine Marcus Antonius desired to buy that horse: and hee was so pleased with the fayme and shape thereof (when they brought him) that hee gaue as great reward to the bringer, as hee paid vnto him that solde the same: not two monethes after that Marcus Antonius had bought this horse, a batell was fought at sea.

at Den betwixt him and his enemy Octavius Augustus: In
whiche battail his onely beloued Cleopatra would be present,
to his greate infamie, and greater losse of him selfe. What
vnfortunate ende Marcus Antonius had, and what an hastie
death his Cleopatra did suffer, is notozions to all men that
haue reade Plutarch. Marcus Antonius being dead, yet still
that vnfortunate horse remained aliue, whiche came to the
handes of a knight of Asia, who was named Nigidius, and for
that the horse (as now) was somewhat olde, at that present
he bought him good cheape, although after wards he cost him
very deare: for within one yeare after he bought him, at the
passage of the Riuer Marathon, the horse stumbled and fell in
suche wise, that both master and horse were drowned, and
were neuer moze seene.

These are the five knights that are throwen downe at
the fote of Sayans horse, to wit, Saias, Dolabella, Cassius, Mar-
cus Antonius, and Nigidius. The whiche histoy, although it
be delectable to reade, on the other part it is lamentable to
heare. After wards, when in Asia they fell in reckoning and to
remember the euill fortune that the horse had alway with him,
there arose amongst them a common prouerbe, to saye vnto
the man that was unhappy or vnfortunate, That he had ridden
vpon Sayans horse.

The like chaunce happened when Scipio did robbe the
Temples of Tolosa in France, in that of all those which caried
away any golde and riches to their houses, none did escape,
but within one yeare died, and all his familie and house de-
stroyed. To this daye it is a custome in France, to saye vnto
the man that is vnfortunate, That he hath Tolouze golde in
his house.

Lucius saith, that in Athens there was an house where
all theye dyed, and there was another house where
they were all dyed, and as by discusse of time, the
Senators fell into the reckoning therof, they commaunded that
those houses shoud not be inhabited, but pulled downe. Herod-
otus saith, that in the Marican field in Rome, there was a

Five knights
throwne
downe.

Nowe

And
Gull.
ra. g.

Sometimes
some things
unfortunate.

Gentlemans house, in whiche all the citizens died suddenly. And as the neighbourhood made relation thereof unto the Emperour Aurelianus, he did not onely commaund it to be threwn doونه, but also that all the tumber should be burned. Solon Solonius forbiddeth in his Lawes to the Egyptians, that nothing of the dead should be sold, but that all should be parted amongst his heires, saying: If the dead had any unfortunate or unluckie thing, it should remaine in his family and kindred, and should not passe unto the common wealth. Incontinent vpon the death of the infamous Romane Princes Caligula and Nero, the Senate provided that all the riches and household stuffe should be burned and buried in welles, fearing that in their tyrannicall gods, they might be do some euill fortune, by the couetousnesse whereof, Rome might be lost, and the common wealth impoynd.

Sir, I thought good to write all these examples and strange chaunces, not that you should beleue in Augures, but to the ende you should thinke that there be in this world some things so unfortunate as they seeme to be, and being with them the selfe same or other mishaps. No more but that our Lord be your protector.

A letter vnto the Duke of Alba, Sir Frederique of Toledo,

in the whiche is entreated of infirmities, and the profites of the same.

REnowned and most magnificēt Lord, at the time that Palome your seruant came to visit me on your behalf, and gaue me your letters, I was in a furious feuer, in suche wise, that I could neither read your letter, or speake a word vnto the bearer thereof. After that I feult began to cease, & that I had read your letter, I vnderstood the desire you had of my health, and the grief you seemed to haue of my infirmities. Beleue me Sir, and be out of doubt, that at that present I had more abilitie to drink, than to read, so I would

have given all my Librarie for one only ewer of water. Your Lordship writeth unto me, that you also have been ill, & that you thinke all your sicknesse to be well employed, as well for that you feele your selfe recovered, as also that you finde your selfe affected with a holy purpose to departe from sin, and to abstaine from excesse in eating.

My Lord, I am soze with all my heart that you have been sicke, and it pleaseth me very much that you stand vpon so good a purpose, although it be very true, that I wold more reioyce to see you perforce, than to heare you promise: for hell is full of god desires, and heauens full of god workes. But be it as he may, to my iudgement there is not any thing wherein we may soner discern a man to be wise or foolish, than to see in what manner he behauesth him selfe in aueritie, & how he reapeth profite by sicknesse. There is no such foolishnes as to employe our health to euill purpose, either is there any such wisdom, as to drawe fruite or commoditie out of sicknesse. *Cum infirmus tunc fortior sum* the Apostle saith, that whē he was sicke, then was he most strong: this he said, because the sicke man doth neither sin by pride, or fornication doth make him rash, or auarice doth overthrow, or enuie doth molest, or ire doth alter, or gluttony doth bring vnder, or slothfulnesse doth make negligent, either overwatch him selfe with ambition.

My Lord Duke, pleaseth it the Lord that we were suche being whole, as we promise to be when we be sicke. All the care of the euill Christian when he is sicke, is, to desire to be whole, onely to liue and enioye more of this world: but the desire of the good Christian whē he is diseased, is to be whole, not so much to liue, as to reform his life. In the time of sicknesse, there is none that doth remember himselfe of affection or passion, of friends or enemies, of riches or povertie, of honour or dishonour, of solace or trouble, of laying vp treasure or growing poore, of commanding or obeying: but to be deliuered of one griefe of the dead, would giue all that he had gotten all the daies of his life. In sickness ther is no true pleasure, & in health all trouble is tollerable: what wants he that lacks not health?

I my.

What

To profite by
sickness declar-
eth great
wisdom.

Privileges &
profiteth obtain-
ed by sickness

X. What is it woorth that he possesseth that enioyeth not his health: What doth it profite to haue a very good hen if he cannot flappe: What serueth hath he that hath old wine of fragrant savor, if the physician do command that he drinke sod water: What anyleth to haue good meat, whē only the sight thereof moueth belkes, and makes the stomacke waamble: What commoditie ariseth vnto him that hath much money, if the more part he spend vpon Physicians and Votaries: Health is so great a thing, that to keepe it and to conserue it, we ought not only to watche but overwatche: The which surely seemes not so, since we neuer haue regard therof, until we haue lost it.

Plutarch, Plini, Nigidius, Aristicus, Dioscorus, Plotinus, Necephalus, & with them many others, haue written great Bookes and treatises, how infirmities are to be cured, and how health is to be conserued. And (so God saue me) if they affirmed a troth in some things, in many other things they did but gesse, and other things not a few they dreamed. Woe me my Lord Duke, and be out of doubt, for my part I doe fully heele, and also I haue experimented, that to cure diseases and to conserue health, there is no better thing, than to anoyde anger, and to eate offlow meates. How great weale should it be for the body, and also for the soule, if we might passe our life without eating, and without anger: For meates do corrupt the humors, and anger doth constrain the bones. If men did not eat and would not be angry, there should be no cause to be sicke, and much less of whom to complaine. For the whips that doe most scourge our miserable life, are ordinary erreffe, and profound sadness. Experience teacheth vs euery daye, that the men that be vltike and ignozant, for the moze part are alwayes strong, lustie, and in good health, and this is the reason: for that such as they are, neither doe they reuere their selues to obtaine honour, neither doe they what is shame, reproch, or dispite: the contrary of all this doth happen to men that be wise, discrete, and the wittier, and of sharper beuise: euery one of which be not only grieved of that which

Angers and
excesse be no
small enemies
to health.

is spoken vnto them, but also they growe sorrowfull, for that they imagine what others do thinke. Ther be men that be so sharpe, and so ouersharpe or refined, that it seemeth little vnto them to interpret words, but also they holde it for an office to diuine thoughts: and their repaiment is, that by them selues alwayes they goe discomforted, and with others euill lyked. I durst affirme, and in a maner sweare, that to haue a sickenesse, and to daunger a mannes lyfe, there is no porton of so daungerous infection, as is a profounde and deepe sorrow: for y miserable hart when he is sad, doth reioyce in weeping, and takes ease in sighing. Let euery man speake what he thinketh good, for amongst such as be discrete (and no fooles) without comparison they be moze that growe sicke by anger they receyue, than of the meates they fede on. All day long wee see no other thing, but that those men whiche be merrie and glad, be alwayes fat, whole and well coloured, and those that be sadde and melancholike alwayes go heauie, sorrowfull, swollen, and of an euill colour. In these writings I confesse vnto you (my Lo: de Duke, that the Ague that now I haue, was not of any meate that I had eaten, but of a certayne anger I had taken.

Your Lordship doth write that by sleeping vpon the ground you haue taken a pestilente reume. I verily thinke, the greafe heate of this monestry of Anguste, hath bin the cause therof, whiche in myne opinion you ought not to vse, or counsell any other therevnto: For it is lesse euill to sweate with heate, than to cough with colde. To the rest which I vnderstand by your letter, in desiring I should write some newes, it is sufficient for this tyme, that of this our Courte there bee few things to be trusted in paper, & much to be said in a mans eare. The thinges that appertaine vnto Princes and lordes of high estate, we haue permission to conceyue them, and no licence to speake them: In the Courte and out of Courte, I haue seene many aduanced by secrecie, and many shamed by want of silence. Your Lordship pardon for this tyme my pen, and when we shall meete together, my tongue shall sup-

To manifest
the secrets of
Princes, is
perillous.

ple this present want. No more but that our Lord be your
protector. From Borgos the. 15. of October, Anno. 1523.

A letter vnto sir Peter of Acunia Erle of Buendia, wherein is
declared a prophesie of a certaine Sibill.



Ight magnificent & Christian knight,
both your hono^r thinke in your iudge-
ment, that the answere I shall sende
you, shall be as large as the letter you
haue written vnto me: of a trouth it
may not be so: for I am nowe come to
that age, that nothing lyketh me, that
I take in hand, either can I performe
any thing that I would do. The many
yeares, the continual studies, & the great travels I haue pas-
sed, haue made in me such impression, & now the eyes be tired
with reading, the pulses with writing, the memorie with re-
saining, and also the iudgemente with noting and compoun-
ding. God knowes I would not boast my self therof, but in
end I can not but chessele it, which is, euery day I feele my self
much more in age, and much lesse in abilitie: the more I would
dissemble, the more I would enable my self, the more I would
grow yong, the more tenderly I would deale with my selfe, I
can not leaue to acknowledge, but that my sighte decreaseth,
my memorie fayleth, my bodie goeth wearied, & the strength
decayeth, and also my heares grow hoare. Oh my soule, what
be all these things, but certaine cruell summoners, that cite
my life to inhabite the sorrowfull sepulture:

Epaminondas the Greke sayde, that vntill the age of thirtie
yeares they ought to say vnto men, you are welcome, or you
come in a good houre: because at that tyme they seme to be
coming into the world: from thirtie vntill fiftie, they ought to
say, God kepe you, or stande in a good houre, because at that
tyme they begin to haue some iudgement of the world: from
fiftie yeares forwarde they ought to say vnto them, God spede
you, or goe in a good houre, for from thence they go taking their
leau

their leane of the world. In these repartments of Epaminondas, it appertaineth not vnto your honour and mee, that we come in a good houre, nor that we stande in a good houre: for we are now come to be of the number that go in a good houre, I beseech the redeemer of the world, that when we shal passe out of this world, we may depart in a good houre, take our leaue in a good houre, and that we goe in a good houre. For if it be muche requisite for vs to liue well, muche moze it standeth vs vpon to finish well. I thought good to write vnto your Lordship all this, to the end, that if I shal answere you somewhat short, ye haue me excused, and to hold me blamelesse.

But coming to the purpose, I say that I muche delighte to reade your letters, & on the other parte, I am overcharged with your importunities: for alwayes you come to me with vnknotome demaunds, and right strange questions: you now sende mee a moste auncient Epitaph, that a certaine friende of yours hath brought from Rome, whiche hath waged with your honour a certain wager, that in all Spayne there shoulde not be a man whiche should haue skil to reade it, much lesse to vnderstand it: the letters of the Epitaph be these, R.R.R.T. S.D.D.R.R.R.F.F.F.F. Whether did that Romane speake according to knowledge, eyther shall he winne his wager. For that notwithstanding they be moste obscure, and euery letter inposse one world, I will sende them so declared and so aptly distinguished, that he shall remaign confounded, and you win the wager. The case is thus.

An olde Epitaph.

Romulus reigning in Rome, and Ezechias in Iudea, there was a woman bozne in Tarento, named Delphica, whiche was famous in hir life, and singular in the art of diuining. Amongst the Hebrues, such women were named Prophetesses, and amongst the Gentils, called Sibilles. This Sibill Delphica prophessed the destruction of Carthage, the prosperitie of Rome, the ruine of Capua, the glozie of Grecia, and the great possilence of Italie: And for that the same of this Sibill was spread thoroughoute the world: Byng Romulus sente his grent presentes, made hir grent promises, and wote to hir many

many letters, to remove hir out of hir countrey, to lyue at Rome. Neyther for any intreatance they used with hir, or for any giftes they could sende hir, this Sibill at any tyme would leaue hir countrey, or come to dwell at Rome. The whiche Romulus perceiuing, determined in his owne person to goe see hir, and with hir in certayne causes to communicate.

The secret that Romulus desired, was to vnderstand what fortune was reserved for him, and what bestemie the Citie of Rome should haue (whiche at that time king Romulus began to buyde.) Answered better no; worse mighte the kyng receiue of that Sibille Delphica, but that she gaue him foure teene letters wrytten in certayne barks of trees, (for that in those so auncient tymes they had not as then sounde oute the manner to wryte in parchment, and muche lesse in paper) the secretes and misterie of which letters neither coulde king Romulus vnderstande, eyther woulde the woman declare the same. But so muche she did certifie him, that there was one to be bozne, which should vnderstand and interprete those letters. King Romulus being returned vnto his Citie of Rome, commaunded those letters to be set in one of his Temples, vnder greates and safe keeping, vntill the tyme shoulde come, that the Goddes shoulde reueale them, or some other bee bozne that shoulde vnderstande them. Foure hundred thirtie seven yeares those letters stode hydden that no man coulde reade them, muche lesse vnderstand them, vntil there came to Rome an other Sibill, named Erithra, the whiche so clearely did declare, interprete, and expound them, as if she hir selfe and none other had composed them. The letters are but foure teene, the whiche declared in English, sayeth:

Romulus reygning, Rome triumphing, Sibill Delphica sayde, the kingdome of Rome shall perish by sword, fier, Hunger, and Colde. Let vs put the selfe same characters of the letters, and the exposition in Latin vppon every one of them, in the forme that the Sibill expounded them, whyche was as followeth.

And at the end of this Epistle, the name of Romulus is written.

Romulo	Regnante,	Roma	Triumphante,	Sibilla
R.	R.	R.	T.	S.
Delphica	Dixit,	Regnum	Romæ	Ruct
D.	D.	R.	R.	R.
Ferro,	Flamma,	Fame,	Frigore.	
F.	F.	F.	F.	

Sir, behold here your letters, or pounded, your prophesies deuined, your Romane confounded, and also your wager gotten. And the reward shalbe, that (I ouer watching my selfe to seeke this history) your honour shall beare away the prayse of the answer. If he will more thorowly know of this history, let him come to seeke and reade Linius, Vulpinius, Trebellius, and Pogius, whiche haue wrytten of the antiquities of the Romans, & the sayings of the Sibilles. No more, but that our Lord be your protector, and that he giue vs both his grace. Amen. Amen. From Madrid the. xiiij. of March. 1555.

Who dyd
wryte the his-
torie of the
Sibilles.

Adكتور vnto Sir Ynigo Marrique, in which is re counted what hapned in Rome berwixt a slaue and a Lion:
an history very pleasant.

Magnificent and discret Gentleman, your seruant Trasillo gaue me a letter of yours at the breaking by of the counsell of the Inquisition: and to speake the troth, neither did he aduertise me from whome he came, neither did I demaund him any question. To my iudgement the one did well, and the other did not erre: for he came wearied with travell, and I came from the Counsel angred. The philosopher Minus sayth, *qui est lasso fanelius loquitur* viz. as if he should haue sayd, to talke with a man that is hungrie, and to haue busines with him that is wearie, he great occasions to misse debate. For if at the time the hungrie would eate, or when the wearied would repose himselfe, and woulde seeke occasion of busines, he would giue the busines to Barra-
bas

bas, and the Autho^r to Sathan. Experience doth teach vs, that at the present when a man is refreshed, forthwith he begins to talke: at the instant that a man doth cate o^r drinke, forthwith he beginneth to debate. And therfore we say, that then, (and not afoze) it is an apt time to dispatch affaires. For other wise, it should be rather to inportune, thā to dispatch. Sir, I say thus much for y^e you shal see and also vnderstand, that it is verie conueniente for him that goeth in affaires, not onely to see inportunitie, but also that hee knowe to take oportunitie.

By, leaning this asparte, I giue you to vnderstande, that your inportunities, & my muche businesse, haue bin together (by the eares:) the one procuring that I should condescende to your desire: the other resisting, that I could not do what you required: in such wise, that the cause why I haue not answered, is I can not, & also I will not: why I cannot answer, dyd proceed at that time, for y^e we toke order in the inquisition for the busines of witches in Nauerne: and that I woulde not, dyd rise, that you sent to demand of me a thing so straunge, with the which (if you did take pleasure in reading) I receiued much offence, and also tired my selfe in seeking.

The declaratiō of which hystorie, that you sent to demand, I did well remember I had sene it, but I coulde not call to mynde in what booke I had red it, and therof we do not marvel, that do not deale with humain and diuine scriptures. For the diuine Plato saith, we shoulde leaue to be men, and become Gods, if the memorie were able to retaine so muche as y^e eyes were able to reade and see. Although on the one parte I had great businesse, and on the other part was somewhat offended, yet alwayes I left my affaires, and began to turne ouer my booke, to see if I could finde out that hystorie, and remember y^e counterfait. And I thought god to take this trauell in hand, not onely to accomplish your demaunde, but also to proue my abilitie, Sir, you wryte vnto me, that in the Gallarye of the great captain you sawe a rich cloth, which (they say) the Venetians had giuen him for a present, wherein was figured a
man

The hystorie
of the man
and the Lion.

man leading a Lyon, and a Lyon that went led and laden after a man. Also you saye, that in the brest of the Lyon were written these wordes: *Hic Leo est hospes huius hominis*. In lyke maner was written in the brest of the man other wordes, which were: *Hic homo est Medicus huius Leonis*. The one and the other letters thus much did signifie: This Lion is the hoste of this man; and This man is Physician or Chirurgical to this Lyon. Sir, you may well thinke somewhat at the straungenesse of the hystorie, since the maner of the paintyng seemeth so monstrous: therefore I maruell not though you desire to vnderstande the same: notwithstanding, to finde it, was not a little painefull to me. It shall happen to this my letter, whiche I consent verie seldome vnto an other: that is, that it shal be somewhat long, & yet not tedious: for the hystorie is so pleasant to hear, & the reader shalbe greued, for that it is no longer.

Commyng to the purpose, The good Titus Emperours of Rome, (whiche was sonne to Vespasian, and brother to that euill Emperour Domitianus) commyng from the warres of Germanie, determined to celibrate in Rome the daye of his natiuitie in Campania. Amongste the Romaine Princes, thre feastes of all other were mooste celebrated, to witte, the daye wherein they were bozne, the daye wherein their fathers dyed, and the daye wherein they were created Emperours. The day of this Titus byth being come, he ordained to make great feasts to the Senate, and to distribute gifts among the people. For in great disportes and feasts, alwayes the Romaine Princes diuide feaste the myghtye, and gaue rewarde to the poore. A thyng worthye to be noted, and also vnto memoire to be commended, that in the great feastes and triumphes of Ianus, of Mars, of Mercurie, of Iupiter, of Venys, and of Berecinthia, they dyd not boaste, neyther esteeme suche feastes to be solemne, great, or duly solemnised, by the costes that were spent, either by the shewes and triumphs that therein were represented; but by the number of rewards and liberall gistes that there were giuen. The Emperour Titus commaunded to be brought for that feasts

many

As. Q. 1
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2.
3.

Great liberales
here used in
feastes.

mainly Lions, Beares, great Harts, Onchias, Unicorns, Griffins, Bulles, Bozes, Wolues, Camelles, Elephants, and other many maruelous cruell beasts, which for the moze part be bred in the desertts of Egypt, and in the edge of the mountayns Caucasus. Many dayes before, the Emperour had commaunded that they should reserve all thieues, and robbers by highwayes, murderers, perjured persons, traytors, quarrelers, and rebelles, to the end that on that day they should enter into listes, to chase and fight with the beasts, in such wise, that the chastisements of malefactorz should be performed by the same beasts. The order that he used herein was, that the corrected men should be put within the greate Colledge, and those cruell beasts should come forth to fight against the, all the people standing to beholds, and none to help. And if it hapned the beasts to teare the man in peces, there he payde his det: but if the man kild the beast, by iustice they could not put him to death. Amongst other beasts that they brought vnto that least, there was a Lion whiche they had taken in the desertts of Egypt, which was mightie of body, of great age, of aspect terrible, in fighting cruell, and in his yelles and cries very horrible. This most cruell Lion walking in the chase all imbyued (for at that time he had slayne and torne to peces xv men) they determined to call vnto him a fugitive slaue, to the intent he should kill and eate him, and therevpon to quiet his rauenous furie: A marvellous thing it was to heare, and fearefull to see, that at the very instant they call the slaue in the chase to the Lion, he did not onely refuse to deuoure him, but also hasted not to touche him, but rather went vnto him and lickt his handes, fanned with his tayle, helde downe his head, and couched downe vpon the ground, shewing signes of old acquaintance, and that he was in his det and beholding vnto him. The slaue, seeing the shewings and the curtesies that the Lion used with him, cast himselfe downe vpon the ground, and creeping to the Lion, and the Lion comming to the slaue, they began one to embrace the other, and to saune as if that had bin of old acquaintance, that had not seene in many yeres.

To see

Old acquaintance renewed
betwene a man
and a Lyon,

To see a thing so monstrous and strange at the sodain, (which the eyes of man had neuer scene, neither in old Bookes had euer bin read) the good Emperour Titus was amaled, and all the Romane people grew astonied: and did not presently imagine that the man and the Lion had bin of olde acquaintance, and there knew ech other; but that the slave shoulde be a nigromantike, and had enchanted the Lion. And after the Lion and the slave had played together, renued their olde acquaintance, and the people of Rome beholding a greate space, the Emperour Titus commaunded the slave to be cald before him, the which comming to accomplish his commaundement, the cruell Lion came after him, so quiet and so gentle, as if it had bin a house lamb brought vp by hand. The Emperour Titus said vnto him these words: tell me man what art thou, of whence art thou, what is thy name, to whome dost thou belong, what hast thou done, what offence hast thou committed, wherefore wast thou brought hither and cast vnto the beastes: may it happen that thou hast bred this most cruell Lion, or hast thou known him by chaunce in times past: wast thou present when he was taken, or hast thou deliuered him from any mortall perill: (perchaunce thou art a Nigromantike, and hast enchanted him.) I commaund thee that thou say vnto vs the truth, what hath passed, and deliuer vs of thy dout, for I sweare vnto thee by the immortall gods, this matter is so monstrous, & so strange, that it seemeth rather that we dreame it, than behold it. With a good courage, & with a hygh cleare voyce, the slave made answer to the Emperour Titus as followeth, the Lion being layd at his fote, and all the people in admiration.

The Emperour Titus talketh with a slave.

Andronico recompteth by discourse, all his life.

It may please thee to vnderstande most victorious Caesar, that I am of the countrey of Slayonia, of a certayne place that is called Mantua, the which when they dyd rise and rebell against the service of Rome,

*I haue and
also noble
was Andro-
nicus.*

We were there all taken & condemned to seruitude & bondage. My name is Andronico, and my father was named Andronicus, and also my grandfather. This linage of Andronicos was in our Countrey so noble and generous, as Quintus Fabius, and Marcus Marcellus be now in Rome. But what shall I weteche do vnto fortune, which do set the sonnes of seruants there, to be knightes, and my selfe that was there a Gentleman, in Rome become a slave? It is twentieth six yeares since I was taken in my Countrey, and so long agoe since I was brought vnto this Citie, and also other twentieth six since I was sold in the field of Mars, and bought of a sawyer, which when he perceyued that my armes were better given to handle a launce, than to pull at a sawe, he sold me to the Consull Dacus, father to the Censor Rufus, that is now alitie. This Consull Dacus was sent by the father Vespasian, to a certain province in Africa, whiche is called Numidia, as Proconsull to minister Justice, and as Captayne of the hoysmen to vnderstande in causes of warre, so that in verie trouth in the warres he had great experierce, and in gouernment much wisdom. Also (great Caesar) it may please thee to vnderstand, that my maister (the Consull Dacus) together with the experierce and wisdom that he had, was on the other side proude in commaundemente, and couetous in gathering together. And these two thyngs he brought to passe, that he was yfserued in his house, and abhorred in the common wealth: and his principall entente was to gather money to make hym selfe riche, so that although he had many offices, and muche busynesse, he had no more in his house, but my selfe and an other to do all the same: in so muche, I gathered and cast a broade, did grynde, sift, and bake the breade: And besides all this, I dressed the meate, I washed the clothes, I swepte the house, I dressed the cattel, and also made beddes. What wilt thou that I shal say more, (O most viciozious Caesar) but that his couetousnesse was so great, and his pitie so little, that he gaue me neither coate, shoes, or hat: and moreover, beside all this, euery night he made me to weane two baskettes of
Palmes,

*His vice is
cause of great
infamie.*

Palmes, which he made me to sell for eight Sesterces, towar-
des his dispenes. And that night that I had not perfozmed
the same, he gaue me nether to eate, either lest me vnto whipt.
But in the end, seeing my master so continually to chide me,
so oft to whippe me, to keepe me so naked, so to ouer worke
me, and so cruelly to deale with me, I will confesse the troth
vnto this (oh inuincible Caesar) whiche is, that seeing my selfe
in so desperat a state, and in a life so miserable, I desired hym
certain times that it mighte please him to sell me, or else to
giue order to kill me. Eleuen yeres continually I passed
this wretched life with him, without receyuing at his handes
any rewarde, or at his mouth any milde word. And farther
seeing in the Proconsul (my master) that every day his anger
increased, and vnto me there was no trauell diminished, and
ioyntly with this, feeling age coming vpon me, and my head
to be hoze, mine eyes blinde, my strength weake, my health
wanting, and my hart desperat: I determined with my selfe
to runne away vnto the cruell deserts of Egypt, to the intent
that some rauenous beast mighte eate me, or that by pure
hunger I might die. And for that my master did not eate but
what I dyest him, or drinke but what I broughte him, with
great suertis I might haue killed him and reuenged my selfe:
but that having moze respect to the noblenesse of bloud from
whence I was descended, than to the seruitude that I suffe-
red, I thought it better to put my life in perill, than to do trea-
son to my noblenesse. In the end, my master (the proconsul)
going to visite a certaine Countrey named Tamacha which is
in the confines of Egypt and Affrica, when on a night he had
supped and I saw him a bed, I departed without knowing a-
ny high way: but that I toke care that the night might be
very darke, and did beholoe (the daye before) whiche moun-
taine was most sharpe, where I myght be most hidden and
least sought for. I caried with me but a payze of sandalles to
weare, a canuas shirt to put on, a bottell of water to drinke,
and a little bunch of grapes to eate, with whiche provision I
might haue bin sustained for sixe dayes: whiche being past,

Fourte extrac-
tion amounte
to. iij. d.

Where no-
blenesse dwel-
leth, no trea-
son haunteth

B. y.

either

either I must die, or be eaten with beastes, or returne to my maister, or else put my selfe in safetie. Having past thre dayes and thre nights, so: taking all high wayes, thicked my self in the great desert. And being utterly tired with great & extreme beate, and no lesse in feare of them that shoulde seeke mee, I conueyed my selfe into a great Cane, somewhat baie, the entrance narrow, but moze large within.

Not fise houres after I had conueyed my selfe into that denne, I saw at the entring therof a Lyon moste terrible to beholde, whose face and mouth was all bloudie, and my indgemente was that he had eaten some beastes, or tozne some man in pieces: (whiche was lyke inough) so: that notwithstanding the countrey is inhabitable, and the beate intollerable, yet there resorte into those desertes some that go to hunt the Lyon, and other vnforsunate (as I) that flee from their paysters, whiche chuse so: lesse euill to be eaten wyth Lions, than all their liues to be slanes. Percepying that monstrous Lyon sitting at the entrance of the cane, and seeing in my selfe that I had no place to escape or flee vnto, no: strength to resiste: the teares presently fell from myne eyes. Remembryng my selfe, with feare I became senselesse, & fell dismayd to the ground, holding so: certain, that now the hour was come, in which (by the rage of that beast) my miserable lyfe shoulde take an end. Oh what difference there is to blason death with the tongue, and to see it with the sight of the eyes. I say this (puissant Caesar,) so: that in seeing him at the doze that shoulde eate mee, and that the sepulcher of my fleshe shoulde be those bestiall entrayles, I would haue chosen an other lyfe much moze at that presente to haue escaped with lyfe. But after the Lyon had a little vletwed and also rested at the entrance of the cane, he came so: ward halting on one of his feete, grievously growning, and comming vnto me (that was fallen to the ground) laide his lame fote vpon my hands, after the maner of a wise man that discovereth his burte to an other, and craveth remedye so: the same. My tongue can not sufficiently say vnto thee. (Oh magnificent Caesar) the strength I recovered

In extreme
distresse.

In passing
tope.

were, and the ioy I conceiued to see that most cruel beast stand
 so stryde, come sicke, goe so lame, and to aske to be cured. And
 you may wel beleue it, for at that houre I was in such estate,
 that if it were in the power of that Lion to take awaye my
 lyfe, I had not at that instant any sense to feele my death. The
 grieve of this poore lion was, that from the head to the point
 he had thrust a thorne into his foote, and his foote was full of
 of matter, maruellously swollen, and the worst of all was,
 that the wounde was so blacke and so festred, that hardly the
 thorne might be then sene. When I had with the poynte of
 a knyfe opened the wounde, presently issued the matter, and
 forthwith I pulled out the thorne, incontinente I washed it
 with vyne, and then annoynted it with salue, and speedily I
 bound it vp with a piece of my shirt: in such maner, that if I
 did not as I ought to do, at the least, I did that I thought best
 to be done. Noble Caesar, thou wouldest haue delighted to
 haue sene how at the tyme I brake vp the swelling, pulled
 out the thorn, thrust out the matter, and bound vp the wound,
 he stretched his feet, clutched his fist, turned his head, gnashed
 with his teeth, and secretly gaue certaine sighes, in such sort,
 that if he felt þ grief as a beast, yet he dissembled it as a man.
 After I had dressed him and bound it vp, al that euening & night
 the Lyon remained stil and lay close by me, and like one that
 had reason, he would lament one while, and rest an other: in
 such wyse we passed all the night, he in betwayling, and I in
 pityng. Now when day appeared, and light came into the
 caue, I began againe to squise out the matter, and to anoint
 it with a little salue which I had, both little and verie drie, be-
 cause there had two dayes passed wherein I had not eaten,
 and as muche more that I had not drunke. Two houres after
 that I had dressed him, and that the sunne was risen, the poore
 Lion departed by little & little out of his caue vnto the desert,
 to seeke something where vpon we might feed, and wherewith
 we might be sustayned. And when I thought not thereof, be-
 holde, he bringes me ouerthwart in his mouth a peece of a beast
 of what nature or kinde of beast it was, I sweare (O mighte

Beastes doe
 seeke benefites.

The Lyon
 feedeth his
 Chirurgian.

tie Caesar, I am not able to say vnto thee: for at that tyme I was not able to vnderstand. Hunger oppressing me, hauing too much flesh, & waiting fire, & hauing no mean to boile nor rest, I gat me out of y^e caue, laying my flesh in y^e sun vpon a sappe stone, where with the most seruent sunne in those desertes which doth not waarme, but burne, although not sufficient to roste: I opereate it sodryed and parched, notwithstanding wth no small appetite. Foure whole daies and nightes I was with the Lion in his caue, in whiche I toke charge to cure him, and hee, to maintain and feede me. Now six dayes being past, that I had ended my bottell of water, he went out of the caue very early before the sunne was vp, and his take of those herbs most ful of dew, which I tasted with my mouth; more to refreche, than to kill the thirst which I had. After I sawe my host the Lions sorte somewhat amended, and also that I like wise grew weary, lothsome, and full of that beastiall life: at the instant that he went out of the caue to hunt, presently I came forth to hyde me, constrained thereto by necessity, and not of will. The nighte being come, when the Lion returned to his caue, and founde me absent (of a trowth I sweare vnto thee Magnificēt Caesar, that) I heard him from thence where I was hidden, giue so many and so sorrowfull brayes, that they filled my eyes full of teares. The poyze Lion bidde shewe that he was grieved with solitarinesse, whiche he sente by the wante of my companie, and the lacke he had of me to performe his cure: of my part (being wearied to trauell in those cruell desertes, and to eate such rawe fleshe) I determined to do that which I should not so much as once haue thought: which was, to seek a place inhabited, where I might find people to speake and be conuersant withall, to the end that I might kill hunger with bread, & the intollerable thirst with water. But as my maister had taken all the passages, and aboue all, that yet my heauie and sorrowfull destinies were not ended, I was scarcely come vnto the first place, but that I fell into their hands, that had sought and followed me. Being taken, bound, whipt, & drayned, they brought me to my cruell maister:

Absence extremely lamented,

My I hope
my I hope
my I hope

maister : and I may say to thee (O good Caesar) that I would rather haue remained dead at the Lions feete, than aliue to appeare befoze my maister. Incontinent after I was brought into his presence, he began to take aduice of them that brought me, if I should be drawne to peeces, haue my thyoate cut, be hanged, slayne quick, or else be drownded. In suche wyse, that thou mayest well conceyue (O noble Caesar) in what case my hearte stood, and how afflicted in spirite I was, when in my owne hearing they intreated, not how they shuld chastise me, but what cruell death they myght giue me. After they had spoken many cruell wordes, & had threated me with diuers cruell deathes, he commaunded that I should be throwen into the dungeon amongst the condemned men, for that with them I should be broughte hyther to Rome, to be meate for beastes : and surely he did not erre in thinkyng to be thus moste cruelly reuenged of mee : for there is not so cruell a kinde of death, as to farie & thinke enerie houre to die. This lion that you see here lying by me, is the same that I cured of the thorne, and he that kept me so manie dayes in his caue : and since the immortall Gods haue willed y^e he and I, & I and he, should come to be acquainted in the place where they haue brought vs to be slain, vpon my knees I beseech thee (most victorious Caesar, that since my fault hath condemned me to the beasts, that it may please thy great clemencie to quyte vs, and to make vs free. This was that which Andronicus sayde vnto the Emperour Titus, and that he related befoze all the Romane people. If the myldnesse of the Lion had put them in greate maruel, the wordes & the great trauailes of Andronicus moued them to great compassion, to heare the immeasurable paines the poore man had passed, & to see how many times death had swallowed him : with loude voyces al the people began to beseech & pray the Emperour Titus, that it might please him to prouide and commaund, that Andronicus might not be slaine, neyther cast vnto the Lion : for the best part of the feast had bin to see the myldnesse of the Lion, & to heare the life of Andronicus. The Emperour Titus condescended with a very good wil,

The slave craveth mercie.

The people of Rome make humble supplication for the slave.

to that whiche the people required, and Andronicus desyred. And thus it was, that from thence forwarde, he and the Lyon wente together throughout all the streets and Tauerne of Rome, making merie, and al the people reioyng with them: After the maner of a little asse, Andronicus with a small lyne did leade the Lion girded with a payre of bougets, wherin he caried certaine prouision of bread, and other things that they gaue him at their houses and tauerne. And sometime he consented that boyes shoulde ride vpon the Lion for money: and to the strangers that came to Rome from farre countreyes, and had not heard the storie therof, demaundyng what that so strange and monstrous sight shoulde signifie, aunswere was made, that that man was the Lyons surgion, and that the Lyon was that mannes host. This historie is recounted by Aulus Gellius the Latin, and Apian the Graeke much moze at large. Behold sir, your paynting here declared, behold here your strange storie founde out, beholde here your desire accomplished, and beholde me here that remayne tyed: that for any thing woulde not againe take suche paine, neyther put my selfe in suche care. No moze but that our Lord be your protecto, and giue vs good ending. Amen. From Toledo the.25. of August. 1529.

Note the authors of the historie.

A letter vnto Sir Peter of Acuna, Earle of Buedia, wherein is touched howe Lordes should gouerne their estates. A notable letter for suche as come newly to their inheritance.



Enoumed Lord and Christian knight Gonsalus of Vrena, your seruant & my friend, gaue me a letter fro your lordship, by which you maintain against me a certain greate coplaynt, saying that it is a yere past since I haue not seene you, and sy monethes wherein I haue not wrytten vnto you. Syr, I am so busyed and of my naturall condition so solitarie, that

that it is painfull vnto me to visite, and no lesse tedious to be visited: not because they doe visit me, but for that they let and hinder me. The diuine Plato said, *quid amici sunt fares temporis*, whiche is to saye, that friends are stealers of tyme, wherein he sayed troth. For there be friends so importune in visiting, and so tedious in communication, that the time is moze euill employed that is lost with them; than the goods that theyes steale from vs.

The Courtiers be much combyed with tediousnes: whiche in the court our friends doe vse with vs; that sit downe by great leasure, and doe settle them selues in a chayre, not to aske any case of conscience, or to talke any thing of holy scripture, but to murmur, saying, that the King doth not stirre, the Counsell doth not dispatch, the Paymasters doe delay, the priuat doe commaund, the Bishops be not resident, the Secretaries rob, the Iustices dissemble, the Officers compose, the Gentlemen play, and the women go at large. Thinke you Sir, that a man learned, giuen to reading, solitary and busted, doth not moze lose tyme in hearing these netues, than to cure an infirmittie with euill diet: to haue delight in murmuring, he must be ill tongued that talketh: of leud dispositiō, and of euill condicion, that delighteth therein. They say that the good Marques of Santillana vsed to saye, that euill tongues and euill eares did frame pleasant murmurings. There be so many men in this Court loytering, superfluous, idle, vagarant and euill tonged, that if Laurence Temporall be so great workman in refining clothes, as they be in shearing their neighbours lines, we maye boldly giue moze for the refining of cloth of Segeuia, than for the cloth in Craine of Florencia.

My Lord, I saye all this to the ende you haue me excused for my want of diligence, and also to giue you to vnderstand of my condicion, the whiche stretched no farther with his friendes, than to make them aunswere to their letters, and that sometime I write vnto them. Besoꝛe all things I am right glad of the sentence giuen on your Lordships behalfe, wherein they haue entituled you with *Totone of Duennas*, and

*

Of what things they murmur in the Court.

Who be great murmurers.

A. b.

the

X
 the Earldome of Buendia, in whiche I beseeche God giue you many yeares of fruitioun, and childzen to inherit. For it is no small sorow to see strange childzen inherit our proper sweat. Your Lordship doth write vnto me in your letter, that I pray vnto God to giue you grace, as well to saue you, as also to gouerne this estate: wherunto I aunswere, as also vnto them of the Towne of Quenosa: great is the mischance, if they should not be better intreated than my sacrifice of God accepted. Do you not thinke that I being a sinfull man, a religious sinner, and a Courtlike sinner, shall not haue ynough to pray for myne owne sinnes, but that I must burde my selfe with you? Much is God pleased with the prayer of the iust, but much more he doth delight in the amendment of the sinner: for it doth little profit for the one to augment his prayers, if the other do not diminish his sinnes. If you will gouerne this Earldome very well, begin the gubernation in your selfe: for it is impossible for him to vnderstand to gouerne the common wealth; that doth not know to rule his owne house, or order his owne person: when the Lord is milde, honest, chaste, sober, silent, patient, and deuout: all his household and common wealth be likewise affected: and if by chaunce there be any seruants absolute or dissolute, they must be hidden and withdrauen, which to the Lord is no small glory: for he doth not little, yf taketh boldnesse from any man in his house to be euill. In the houses where Lordes are ambitious, rashe, quarelling, lyars, gluttons, gamsters, infamous, and lecherous: what steward may bring to passe that the seruants be honest, seeing they do not, but what their maisters do allowe, and likewise do. The wordes of Lordes be fearefull, but they good woorks do animate: and I say it to this end: for their seruants and vassalles do rather imitate the woorks they see the do, than the woordes they heare them speake.

The charge that a Bishop hath of his household and Diocesse, the same hath a Gentleman of his seruants. For, it is not sufficient that a master or Lord pay his seruants what is dew, but that they make them also do their dutie: it is a lamentable

The order of
 the noble or
 gentlemans
 house.

mentable thing to see that another shall send his sonne to the
house of a Gentleman clad, shod, shamedfast, honest, solitarie,
well manerred, and deuoute, and at the pears end, the poore
young man shall returne ragged, bare legged, dissolute, a glit-
son, a dice player, a liar, and a quarreller; in such wise, that it
had bin lesse will to haue had him dead, than sent to such pal-
lace, or Court. Lett he conclusion of this case be, that in such
maner you order your life and gouerne your house, that your
owne may haue to follow, and strangers to prayse, as I haue
said. That the Knight ought to be so: God graunt him so.



Also it is right necessary, that alwayes you
haue in remembrance the hounties and good
things ye haue receiued of God. In speciall
to giue you this, Carle dame (the deuyt of the
Carle dame: Whether of his life, the Lady
countesse died, disherited your Cousin, & gaue
a sentence against the Admirall,) in such wise that you owe
unto God not only for the gift thereof, but also for the deliuer-
ance of the incumber thereof. My Lord be ye: certayne that
although before God all sinnes be grieuous, yet the sinne of
ingratitude is holden for most intolerable: for God will not
any thing that we haue, but only for that which beginneth by
we be thankfull. Giue thanks unto God so, that he created re-
deemed, and reloued you, and also provided for you. And sure-
ly with this estate & Carle dame (if you keepe reckoning with
your rent, and measure in expences) you may serue God, and
live honorably. Although this Carle dame haue cost much
trauell, perilles, lutes, anger, and money; contend not wyth
God, thinking that you haue obtained it by youre owne dili-
gence, but confesse his great mercie, to haue giuen it: for the
victories and good gifts that God doth giue vs, we may desire
tho' also craue thē, but not deserue thē. Remember (my Lord)
that god hath remoued you fro anger to ease, fro poore to rich,
from

the sinne of
ingratitude

The sinne of
Ingratitude
before God is
detestable.

from asking to giuing; from seruing to commanding, from misery to plentie, and from sir Peter to be intitled the Earle of Buendia, in such wise that you owe vnto God not only the state that he hath giuen you, but also the miserie that he hath taken from you. Wh how great mercie both God vse with that man, that giues him where to liue to glorie, and putteth him not in estate to craue of any man. For to shamefast faces, and to generous hearts, there is no trauell that so both perce their intralles, as to enter to craue at other mens doores. Plutarch reported of the great Pompeius, that being sicke in Pusoll, where the Physicians saide, that to be hole and recover strength, it were conuenient hee should eate of certain Zorzales that the Consul Luculus did bryde: he answered I will rather die, than sende to craue them; for the Goddes haue not created Pompeius to aske, but to giue.

Zorzales
blackbirds.

My Lord I saye thus much, to the ende ye consider, since God hath giuen you liberally, that you haue not craue of any man, that you be not reckless to giue as they gaue you, to succore as they succored you, and to part as they parted with you. For of the temporall gods that God giues vs, we be not lordes but reparters. Although the Earledom of Buendia be of no great rentes, yet maye you do with it many good workes. For (as I haue said) the gentleman that knoweth to rule his house, and to order his goods: he shall haue to spende, to keepe, and to giue. For Princes and Lordes of power ought not to be called great or mighty for the proude estates that they hold, but for the great rewardes they giue. The office and deuotie of the labouring man, is to digge, the religious to be contemplatiue, the priest to pray, the states man to worke, the Marchaunt to be gainefull, the clerke to keepe, the poore to craue, and of the gentleman to giue: for vppon that day, that the gentleman both beginne to bourbe wth money: from thence forth, he putteth his name in proclamation.

He is not to
be holden for
noble that hath
much, but that
giveth much.

In Lordly houses and of inheritors, there ought to be the haunts of brothers, cosines, nephewes, vncles, and all others of his kinne, bearing good will to their affaires, and supporting

king their necessities. In suche wise, that to them there is no
houre forbidden, or any doze but: neuertheless there are
some Brothers, Cousins and Nephewes, tedious in theyr
speech, so importunate in visiting, and so without measure in
their crauing: that they make a man angrie, and also abhorre
them: and the remedy for such, is to succour their necessities
and to appart their conuersations.

You shall now find in your Carleborne retainours of your
fathers, Seruants of your Brothers, allies of your house,
and friends of all your dealings, vnto whome you ought in
generall to be good countenance, speake sweete words, geue
good hope, and deale some rewards: for if you should be ingrate
vnto them, you should run into greate indignation of the peo-
ple. Also my Lord you shall find some old Seruants and some
poore widowes, vnto whome your predecessor's comman-
ded to be giuen some pension or some refreshing for trauelles
past, or for seruice they did them: beware in no wise to take it
away, neither yet to diminish it: for besides that vnto you it
were a great wretchednesse, and vnto them a great want: In
the place to pray vnto God for your life, they would craue of
God vengeance vpon you. Without comparison you ought
to haue moze feare to doe iniurie vnto the poore, than to the
riche: for the riche doth reuenge himselfe with armes, but the
poore with teares.

The poore do
reuenge with
teares.

Also you shall finde in your Carleborne some yong men
and maydens, that were children of old seruants, and the so-
rowfull orphanes, neither haue father to help them, neyther
god to sustayne them: your Lordship ought in suche cases to
bring vp the sonnes, and to mary the daughters: for there is
not in this world an almes of God moze accepted, than to giue
marriage vnto a damsell vpon the point to be cast away.

As it is a great offence to cause another to sinne, so doth he
deserue much glozy, that takes away the offences for another
to fall: for certainly we are moze beholding to him that keeps
vs from stumbling, than vnto him that helps vs vp. Also you
shall find some men and women, of whom they shall say vnto
you,

you,

To forget an
iniurie, proce-
deth of singu-
lar wisdom.

you, that they were affectioned to one partialitie, and offend-
ed at the other, and in such cases take no care to make search,
and much lesse to take vengeance: for the noble harts ought
never to thinke themselves iniured, but of such as be mightie
like themselves. If any want of dutie or offence hath bin done
vnto you by any of your estate, I holde it for more suretie to
dissemble it, than to reuenge it: for it may so happen, that thin-
king all lawe were ended, there mighte arise vnto you other
new more indigested angers. It is tollerable that the Lords
do chastise his vassall, but not that he reuenge: for it is sure
that he will not only defend him selfe, but also attempt to of-
fend, and the offence shall be, raising his countrey, and defa-
ming his person. If you will be reuenged of such as haue gi-
uen some occasion, be grateful vnto those that did follow and
serue you: for after this maner they shall remaine recom-
pensed, and the other confounded. And let it be in this case for
conclusion, that in my iudgement and conceit, your Lordship
ought not to care to remember the iniuries they haue done
you, but the seruice that now they do you: and make no ac-
count to make quarelle with your vassals, for in things of co-
mon libertie, he that shall serue most to serue you, the same
is he that most will sell you.

That a Knight do minister Iustice in his Countrey.



As it is necessary to the good government of
your vassalles, that you leane them to be
gouerned of vertuous men and of experier:
for ther is no mā in this world so wise, that
needeth not the counsell of another. This sayd
not without graue consideration: that you
shoulde vse men of experierce, and sayde not that you shoulde
take men of learning: for matters in law must be commen-
ded vnto the learned, but gouernment of the common wealth
vnto men of wisdom. For we see every day by experierce,
what difference or aduantage there is, betwixt hym that
hath

hath a good witte, and him that knoweth no more but out of
Bardet. If you fynde any that is both learned and Things that
wise: leaue not to lay hande vpon him, nor let him slip for many desire
any piece for learning to giue sentence, and prudence to go- but few obtain
uerne, be two thynges that many desire and few doe ob-
tayne.

Ope Lord you haue to be aduised to commend youre coun-
tries to mouthy or bzutische bachelers, that come from Sala-
manca, which bringing their science in their lippes, and their
witte in their sachelles, befoze they can chance to do Justice,
they shall escauallise the common wealth, and also robbe the
whole countrey. Those that do procede from Colledges, and
from the Vniuersities, as they tie themselves to that theyz
Bookes do say, and not to that whiche theyz eyes doe see:
and to that their science doth speake, and not to that whiche
experience doth shew: such are good to be advocates, but not to
gouerne.

Sir beleeue me and be out of doubt, that the art of govern-
ment, neyther is sold at Paris, either is found at Bolloigne, nei-
ther yet learned at Salamanca, but is found out by prudence,
is defended by science, and conserued by experience. Plato
in his booke of common wealth saye these wordes: *Consilium pe-
ritorum ex apertis obscura, ex paruis magna, ex proximis remota, ex
partibus tota estimat.* As if he should haue sayde: the man that
is witte and of experience: the cleare he holdeth for darke, the
little for great, the neare to be far off, the gathered together
to be cast abrode, the certaine for doubtfull.

Out of these wordes of Plato there may be gathered, the dis-
ference betwixt science and experience: for that we see in ex-
pert men holde all things for easie, and he that is expert in
geth all things difficult. God dealeth mercifully with suche
men, as he leaueh not into the hands of proude captaines, rash
Pilots, vblearned Lawyers, foolish Philosophers, and vner-
pert Judges: because the proude Captayns lighteth out of
time, the rash Pilots sende you to the bottome, the vblear-
ned Lawyer loseth your matter, the foolish Philosopher
spoiles

Conditions
of a good iu-
stice.

Spoyle your life, and the vnerpert iudge robbeth your goods. The Judges to whome you shal put your conscience in trust, and commende youre common wealth, ought to be honest in their liues, topright in iustice, patient in iniuries, measured in their speech, iustified in that they commaund, righteous in iudgement, and pitifull in their erecutions. Beware of Judges that be childish, foolish, overbold, rash, and bloody: which to the end their fame shall sounde at Courte, that from thence they may receyue commission of Justice: they wil commit a thousand treulies in your countreyes, and will giue a thousande displeasures to your persone, in suche wise, that many times there needes moze reformation for their disorders, than for the offences yourc bassals shall commit. I do lie if it did not happen on a time to me in *Arenally*, being warden with a new vnerpert Judge: which hit aise I did somewhat aduertise him that he was ouer furious and cruell, sayde: Father Warden, you get your meate by preaching, and I get it by hanging: and by your Lady of Gadilope, I do moze esteeme to put a scote, a hand to the Pillery, than to be Lord of Ventosilla. When I heard him mention Ventosilla, I replied thus word, of my troth master Justice, iustly apertayneth vnto you the Lordship of Ventosa, for you may not be contayned in Ventosilla. But prosecuting our intent, it is to wit: that those that the Romaines did call Censores or iudges, we do call Cozregidores or Corretores, and it was amongst them a lawe inuio- lable, that they made no man a Judge, that was not at the least aboue forty yeres old: he shoulde be married, holden for honest, meanely ritch, noz infamed with conetousnesse, and that in other offices of the common wealth hee had expe- rience.

The conditi-
ons of Jud-
ges vsed to be
chose in Rome

Iulius Cesar, Octavius Augustus, Titus Vespasianus, Nerus Cocceus, Traian the iust, Antony the merke, and the god Mar- cus Aurelius: All these so glorious Princes from the office of Judges, did rise to be Emperours, in suche wise, that in those dayes, they did not prouide offices for men, but men for offi- ces: for the office of Governour, Justice, and cozregor, many will

will be inters: and for many they will make sute, but in any wise you ought to be aduised holwe ye make promise therof to any man, eyther for prayers or intreataunce to giue the same. For your good, you may giue to whome you shal thinke good, but the rod of iustice to him who shal beste deserue it. Also some of your seruants (in recompence of seruice) will craie the office of iustice: and in my iudgement, you oughte lesse to giue it vnto those than vnto any other: for in saying they be your seruants, & that you shal beleue them moze than the rest: The people shal not dare to complayn, and they shal haue libertie the moze to robbe and steale.

The office of Justice is to be giuen for merit, and not for affection.

If any man or woman shal come to complain before your Lordship of your Justice, giue him eare at leysure, and with good will, and if you shal fynd his complaynte to be true, remoue his grife, and repzebende your Justicer: but if it be not so, declare how iust it is that he commaundeth, and how buriust that he demaundeth: for the base countrey people doe holde the words of their Lord for gospel, & of the officer as a passioned. If it be not conuenient for the Judge you shal chosse, that he be skilful to steale or byrbe, muche lesse dothe it be seeme your Lordship to be a rigarde or couetous, neyther with the price of iustice to pzeat your chamber. Advise your Justices, that haynous, bloudy, desperate, and scandalous offences (in no wyse) be redeemed with money: for it is impossible that any may liue in suretie, eyther goe safe by the bighe way, if there be not in the common wealth the whip, the halter, and the swoorde. There are so many quarellers, vagabonds and thæues, murtherers, rebels, and sedicious, that if they had hope for money to escape Justice, they would neuer cease to commit offences. And therfore it is conuenient, that the Judge be wyle and skilfull, to the ende he chastise not all offences with extremite: neither that he leaue somtime with the voyce of the king to honoure the people. Also your Lordship hath to prouide, that the officers of your audience, which is to wit, Counsellers, Attorneys, and Scriueners, be faithfull in the procelle they make, and no tyrantes in the Lawes

Al. f.

they

Evill Iudges
do execute the
purse, and not
the person.

they haue in hande: for many tymes it hath happen, that one coming to complayn of an other, they do not iustice vpon the person that gaue the quarel, but they execute iustice vpon the pouche that he weareth. Also aduise your Iustices, that they dispatche their affaires with bzenitie and with trouth: with trouth, because they shall iudge iustly: with bzenitie, that it be done with expedition: for it hapneth to many Clients, that without obseyning that they crane, they consume al that wiche they haue. Also your Lordship ought to prouide and commaunde the ministers of your iustice, that they doe not dishonour, misvse, shame, or despise such as come to your audience, but that they be mylde, modest, and manerly. For sometimes the sorrowful suter doth moze seale a rough word they speake, than the Justice they delate. I assure you, there be officers so absolute, without temperance, and so yllmanered, that they presume to doe moze cruelties with their pen, than Roulande with his smother.

Judges ought
to dispatche with
speed, and answer
with
patience.

Also your lordship hath to prouide, that your Judges doe not suffer themselves to be muche visited, accompanied, and muche lesse serued. For the iudge can not hold narrow friendship with any man, that is not in the preiudice of iustice: for verte sewe reso:te vnto the Judge, for that he deserueth, but for the power he holdeth.

In the common wealthe dissentions, angers, quarels of ambition amongst your officers of Justice, neither ought you to dissemble, or in any wise consente vnto: for at the instant that they shall grow into quarels, the people shall be diuided into partialities: wherof may rise great offences in the common wealth, and great want of reuerence to youre person. Concluding in this case (I say) that if you will hold your Countrey in iustice, giue your Officers occasion to conceyue opinion that you loue Equitie: And that for no request or interest, you will be remoued from the same: for if the Lord be iust, his officers neuer dare to be vniust.

That

That a Knight or Gentleman be mylde, and
of good gouernance.



Also it is necessarie to the good gouernment of
your house & comon wealth, & your behauior
towards your subiects be suche, that with
the meaner sort ye deale as with sonnes,
with the equall as with brothers, with the
ancient as with fathers, and with the stran-

gians
humanitie
to all men of
the mighty is
to be vied.

gers as with felows: for you ought much moze to esteem your
self in holding them for frends, than to commaund them as bas-
sals. The difference betwixt the tirant & the Lord is, that the
tyrant (so he may be serued) makes small accompt to be belo-
ued: but he that is a Lord wise, and will rather chuse to
be beloued than serued, and I assure you he hath great reason,
for y person that giues me his heart, will neuer denie me his
goods. The great Philosopher Licurgus in the laws he gaue
to the Laedemonians, did commaund and counsel: That the
auncient men of his common wealth shoulde not talke stan-
ding, neyther be suffered to stand bareheaded: and I say it to
this ende: For that it shall diminishe nothing your authori-
tie or grauitie, in that you shall say vnto the one, be couered
Gossip, and vnto the other, sit down frende. The good Empe-
rour Titus was worthily beloued, for that the old men he cal-
led fathers, the yong men fellows, strangers Cousins, the
pinate frendes, and all in generall brothers.

The gentleman that is humble, courteous, and of a good
bzinging vp, strangers loue him, and his owne do serue him,
for courtesie and friendly behauiour is moze honour to hym
that vseth it, than to whom it is done. I am not far in in lone
with many Gentlemen, vnto whom there goeth to talk and
to dispatche affaires, olde honozable and wise men (although
poze) & they neuer offer vnto the so much curtessie, as to say,
arise, neyther be couered, and muche lesse to sit downe, con-
ceiuing all their greatnesse to consist, in not commaunding

L.ij.

to

to glue them a shole, eyther to put of their cap to any man: note and consider well this which I say vnto your Lordship, that the authozitie, greatnesse, and grauitie of Lordes and Gentlemen, doth not consist to haue their bassals kneeling, and bare headed, but in gracious and good gouerning them.

When I heard a certain knight valiant and of noble blood (yet disdainfull and very proud) that vsed alwayes to say to all men (although of wo2ship he talked withal) thou, thou, and he, & neuer added wo2des of fauor, wo2ship, or curtesy: I said vnto him: By my life sir I assure you, and do iudge many tymes with my selfe, y^e for this cause God or the king shew you any fauor, bicause you neuer talk with any man with wo2ds of fauor, wo2ship or curtesie. He did so much feele this wo2d, that from thence forthward, he left to say thou, and said vnto all men: My maisters, or by your fauors. All men that shal come to talke and haue businesse with your Lordship, you ought to vse with mildnesse, honour, and also fauore on them, as enery man shal deserue, and according to their degrees, comanding the olde men to couer, the yong men to rise, and some to sit downe. For if they delight to serue as bassalles, they will not that you intreate them as slaues: many bassals we doe see enery day rise against their Lordes, not so much for the tributes they raise on them, as for the euil dealings they vse towards them: alwayes your Lordship hath to remember, that you and they haue one God to hono2, one King to serue, one lawe to keepe, one land to inhabite, and one death to feare: and if you hold this befoze your eyes, you shall speak vnto them as vnto b;others, and deale with them as with Christians.

Of all men to be noted.

Above all things take greate heed, to say at the sodaine to any of your subiects any wo2d that shal daime his kinned, or iniurie his person, for there is no villain of Saigo so insensible that doth not moze feele an iniurious wo2d that is spoken, than the chastisement which is giuen: and there is a greater euil therein than this, that amongst the comon and countrey people, all the kinned both auns were for the iniurie, and the shame to one, redoundeth to the despite of the whole: whereof it hap-

It hapneth many times, that to be reuenged of a worde, the whole people do rise against their Lord. So in this case take my counsell, that if any your subiects shal doe a thing whiche he ought not to do, that you determine to chastise him, & not to bpb;ayd or defame him: for the chastisement he shal thinke to procede of iustice, but your bpb;aying of malice. For any distemperance that may greene you, or maye happen to anger you: Auoyde in any wise to call any man knaue, Jew, filth, or villaine: for besides that these wordes be rather of tiplers, than of Knightes or Gentlemen: The Gentleman is bound to be as chaste of his speech, as a virgin of hir virginitie: for a gentleman to be of a distempred speche, soule mouthed, emill manered, loude and soule spoken, this maye not procede of any other occasion, but that he is melancholike, a coward and feareful. For it is notozious vnto all men, that vnto the woman it appertaineth to be reuenged with the fount: but the knight or Gentleman with his launce.

The womans
armour is hir
tongue.

The king Demetrius had a certain loue named Lamia, whiche when she demaunded Demetrius why he didde not speake and was not merrie, he made answer: Holde thy peace Lamia, and let me alone, for I doe as wel my office, as thou dost thine: for the office of the woman is to spin and prattle, and the office of the man is to holde his peace and fight. To buffet the boyes of the chamber, to pull them by the heare, to toll them against the portall, and to spurne with the feet: Your Lordship ought not to do it, neither consent that it be done in your presence. For in palaces of audozitie and grauitie, to the Lord it appertaineth to manifest his mind, and to the sturde to chastise. If your lordship shall commaunde to chastise or to whip any page or seruant: provide that it be done in a place priuate and secrete: for it ought to be very strange vnto the Lord or Gentleman that is noble & valiant, to see any man weeps, either to heare any complaine. The writers of histories do muche prayse the Emperour Octauius Augustus, which did neuer consent that any execution shoulde be done whilst he was within the walles of Rome, but for the taking

True gentility
pitieth the
distressed.

away of any mans lyfe, he always went to hunting: By the contrarie, the Historiographers do much reprehend the Emperour Aurelius, who befoze his owne eyes, commaunded his servants to be whipt and chastised, which certaynly he should not haue done: for the clemencie of the Prince oughte to be such, that not only they should not see the execution, neyther yet so much as the person that is executed.

Brothers
children.

Your Lordship also hath to beware to aduenture to recout newes, to compound lies, to relate fables, and to tell tales: for the foolish man, and the tatling tedious Gentleman, be brothers children. The officers and seruantes of your house, you haue to keepe them corrected, warned, and also in feare: that they rayle no quarels, robbe no orchards, spoyle no gardens, neither dishonour married women: In such sort that the seruants presume not to doe that whiche they Masters dare not commaunde: the yong men and pages that shal attende on you, cause them to learne the commandements, to praye and fast, and to keepe the Sabbath dayes: For God wyl neuer deale mercifully with you, if you make not greater account that they serue God, than your selfe. Suche as shal play at cardes or dice (for dyce money) not only chastise them, but also dispatch them away, for the vice of play may not be susteyned but by stealing or disceit. The pages and yong men that you shal take into your chamber, you haue to make choise of suche as be wyse, honest, cleyntly, and secret: for bawling and foulemouthed boyes, they will imbesill your apparel, & staine your fame. Commaunde the Controller of your house, that the pages be taught to go cleyntly, to brushe, and laye by their apparel, serue at the table, put of their cap, vse reuerence, and to speake with good maner, bicause it may not be named a palace, where there wants in the Lorde shamefastnesse, and in the seruants good bringing by.

To the seruant that shal be vertuous, and agreable to your condition, trust him with your person, let him commaund in your house, incommend him with your honoure, and giue him of your goods, upon suche condition, that he presume not

take

to be absolute lord of the common weal: for that day that they holde such one in reuerence, they shall esteeme you but little. If you will enioy seruice, and be free from displeasures, you shall giue no man suche rule in your estate, that your seruant shall thwart you, or your vassal disobey you. Also your Lordship is to be aduertized (in that as now ye enter of new) you attempt not to doe manye newe thinges: for euery noueltie both not more please him that both institute the same, than the accomplishment therof displeaseth hym to whome it is commaunded.

Lactantius Firmianus both saie, that the common wealth of the Sicilians endured longer, than that of the Grekes, Egyptians, Lacedemonians, and the Romaines, because in seven hundred and forty yeares they neuer made newe lawes, neither brake their olde. Suche as shall counsell you to renewe your Judges, change your Iustices, make proclamations, and to remoue your seruice to other persons unknown. Consider very well, if they attempte the same, to the ende that you shall not erre, or else to amend their owne estate. For it was a lawe amongst the Athenians, that he shoulde haue no voyce in the common wealth, that pretended to haue interest in that which he counselled.

A speciall adu-
uenture.

The pretence
of priuate pro-
fite, is voyde
of all good
counsell.

Now at the beginning you haue muche cause to consider in whom to trust, and with whom to take counsell: for if the counsellor be such as hopeth thereby to gather any gain: so that end he will direct his counsell, where his affection is inclined. In suche sorte that if he be couetous, he will sake to rob, and if he be malicious or matched with enemies, how to be reuenged. And also such things as you shall finde in your house to be reformed, and your common welth to be chastised. It is not my opinion that you amend or reforme all things in haste that is amisse: for it is not iust, neither yet sure, that ancient customes of the comon people be taken away sobornly, being brought in by little and little. The customes that touch not the faith, neither offende the Church, eyther offende the Common wealth, take them not away, neither alter the: the

which if you will not for their cause, yet for your owne cause
disfauor the same (for if I be not deceined) in the house where
dwelleth nouelties, there lodgeth want of iudgement.

A notable
measure.

X

Also my Lord I counsell you, y^e you in suche wise measure
your goods, that they liue not with you, but that your lordship
liue with them. I say it because there be many noble men of
your estate, that keepe a great house with other mens goods:
he that hath much, & spendes little, they call him a nigarde: &
he that hath little & spendes much, they hold him for a fool: for
which cause men ought to liue in such sorte, y^e they bee not no-
ted mizers for their keeping either prodigal for their spending.

A quent of
Mercurio,
whiche be .6.
a peme, amont
2500. Du-
cates.

My Lord Earle, be none of those that haue two quentes of
rent, & soure of follies, which alwayes go taking by lone, dea-
ling by exchāge, taking rent afoze hand, and selling their pa-
trimonie: In such maner, as all their trauel doth consist not in
mainteyning house, but in sustayning follies. Many other
things I might say vnto youre Lordship in this matter, the
which my pen doth leaue to write, to remit them vnto your
prudence. No moze but the Lorde be your protector, From
Valiodolid the thirde of Nouember.

A letter vnto the Admirall Sir Fadrique Enriques, wherein is
declared, that olde men haue to beware of the
yeare three score and three.



Moste renowned Lorde and great Admirall,
I assure you, I maye firmly aduouche vnto
your honour, that at the instant, there was
not anye thyng farther oute of my mynde,
than was your letter. When I sawe it enter
into my Cell: and incontinente I imagined
with my selfe, that you wrote vnto mee some lett. or sent vnto
me to declare some doubt.

The harte of
man is mozte
excellēt in his
kynde.

To the very like purpose the diuine Plato did say, that such
is the excellencie of the heart, aboue all the other membes
of man, that many tymes the eyes be deceined in the things
they

they see: and the hart both not erre in that it doth imagin. The Consul Silla, when he sawe Iulius Caesar being a yong man, will trusted, and woꝛse girt: (foꝛ whiche cause many did indge him to be negligent, and also doltish) sayd vnto all those of his band, beware of that yong youth: that although he appeareth to be such, yet this is he that shall tyrannise the Citie of Rome, and be the ruine of my house. Plutarch in the life of Marcus Antonius recounteth of a certaine Greeke named Ptolomeus: which being demaunded wherfoꝛe he did not talke, oꝛ was conuersant with any man in all Athens, but with the yong man Alcibiades: answered, bycause my hart giueth me, that this yong man shall set Greece on fire, and defame all Asia. The good Emperour Traiane sayd, that he was neuer deceyued in choosing frends, and in knowing of enemies: foꝛ presently his hart did aduertise him, to whome he shoulde repaire, and of whome he shoulde beware. And if we well consider the soꝛe sayd: neither the hart of Silla was deceyued in that he prophesied of Iulius Caesar, neyther the Art of Ptolomeus did erre in that he diuined of Alcibiades: bycause the one depꝛiued Rome of hir libertie, and the other darkned the gloꝛy of Greece. Thus much I thought to saye vnto youre Lordship, to the ende you might see, how my hart was not deceyued in diuining what you had wꝛitten, and also what you craued.

I may very well say, that sometimes your Lordship wꝛiteth me some lets that makes me mery, and sometimes you demaund questions, that makes me watch: foꝛ your Lordship hath your iudgement so cleare, your memoꝛie so readye, the Scripture so pꝛompt, the time so disposed, and aboue a l: great swiftnesse in wꝛiting, and much vse in reading: that you doe me great grēse to impoꝛtunate me so often to declare that which you vnderstande not, and to seeke out that which you may not finde, to expound as I did the verses of Homer, to declare the life of Antigonus, to search you the hystorie of Methiados the Thebane, to relate you the Ceruatica of Sertorius, you haue iudged to be don in maner without trauel: but I sweare by the law of an honest man, I was ouerwatched in seeking,

L. v.

spent

Commedable
qualities.

spent in disposing, and tried in writing it. Many other Lords of this kingdom, and also out of the same do write vnto me, and craue that I declare them some doubts, and send the some histories: which doubts and demaundes be all plaine and easie, and at three turnes, I finde them amongst my writings: but your Lordship is such a friend of nouelties as alwayes you aske me histories so straunge and peregrine, that my wittes may not in any wise but nedes go on pilgrimage. My Lord comming, to the purpose, you say that the Earle of Miranda did write vnto you, that eleuen dayes befoze the good Constable Sir Ynnigo of Velasco died, he had me say and certifye that he shoulde die, the whiche as I then spake, so afterwards it came to passe, but I would not declare vnto him, by what meane I vnderstood it.

Your Lordships pleasure is, that I shoulde write vnto you, whether I did speake it in earnest or in iest: or if I sawe in the sickeman any prognostication, or if I knewe in this matter any great secret: the whiche I will discouer vnto you, if you promise me to keepe it secret, and that vnto me therof you be not ingrate. The truth is, I sayd it to the Earle of Miranda, and also to the Doctor Carthagna: neyther did I knowe it by reuelation as a Prophet, either did I obtayne it in Circle as a Pigromantike, either did I finde it in Ptolomeus as an Astronomer, nor vnderstand by the pulse as a Physitian, but I found it as a Philosopher: for that the good Constable did then goe in the yere Climatike. At the present I vnderstand the Constable to be sick, I demaunded how old he was, and when they answered that he was three scoze and three, I sayde his life was in great perill, for that he was then in the most dangerous yere to die.

For the vnderstanding hereof it is to wit, that all the lyfe of man is like a long & a perillous sicknes, wherein the seventh and the ninth day is much to be noted, for that in those crestick dayes, the sick do mend or grow worse. That whiche the Physitian dothe call Terme in the sick man, is called in the whole by the Philosopher Climate: and from thence it is, that

A notable secret in the yere climatike.

from

from seven to seven yeares, and from nine to nine yeares, ma-
ke change their complexions, and also many times they
conditions. That this is true, it clearely appareth, in that the
man which is now flegmaticke, we see him turne cholerike,
the furious to be milde, the prosperous to be vnsfortunate,
and also he that is wise remoue to be foolish. All which com-
meth to passe, that after seven or nine yeares, they haue
chaunged as we haue sayde their conditions, and also they
complexions. Also it is to be vnderstande, that in all the dis-
course of oure lyfe, we onely lyue vnder one onely climat,
the which is seven, or nine yeares: except in the yeare of thre-
score and thre, in the which two termes of two climats doe
ioyne, which is to witte, nine sevens, or seven nines: because
nine times seven, and seven times nine, be thre-score and
thre yeares, and therefore in that yeare many olde men dye.
Those that come to the yeare of thre-score and thre, ought
to lyue in very good order, and to walke very warily: because
that yere is so perillous, that none passeth the same without
suffering some daunger. Many and very notable men (in
time past, and also present) died in that yeare of thre-score
and thre. More and ioyntly with this I saye, that the sonne
that shall see his father passe this terme, let him not hope so
sone to see him die: neyther as yet to inherite.

A perillous
time for old
men.

Nota

The Romaine and Greeke Princes, after they sawe them-
selues escaped the yeare, thre-score and thre, they gaue greate
gifte vnto their people, and also offered no small offerings in
their Temples: as it is read of the Emperour Octavius, the
Emperour Antonie the make, & the good Alexander Seuerus.

I thought good to giue a reckoning vnto your hono^r of this
hystorie: or to say better, of this philosophie: because you maye
vnderstand how I did diuine the death of the good Constable
of Castile: which all we his friends and louers did see, within
the yeare sixtie thre to begin to be sicke: and also to make
end to dye. Of all the great states of this kingdome, I holde
some for kinsmen, others my good Lordes, some for neigh-
bours, and others for acquainted: but amongst them all, I
held

Notable con-
ditions of a
noble man.

held him for my singular good Lord and friend, for that I found him of a very good conuersation, and of a sound condition. The good Constable was milde in commaunding, iust in gouerning, wise in speeche, large in expence, valiant in battell, meeke in pardoning, and a very good Christian in liuing. For that your Lordship and he were captaynes in the warre, and Viceroyes in time of peace: you will not denie that whiche I say to be very true, although I leaue of him much moze to be said. When you gaue and also ouercame the battell of Reniega neare vnto Pampalona, I do remember, that I comming vnto your honour to confirme two billes, the one as concerning Justice, the other for goodes: your Lordship sayde vnto me these wordes: with me (father master) you haue framed and brought to passe, that I will do what you will, and confirme what you demaund: but it is necessary, that firste you informe the Constable of the case, and make relation vnto him of the qualitie of the matter, for that he is very much aduised in the distribution of goodes, and very scrupulous in matters of Justice. The good Constable had with me very great familiaritie, and I with him inuolable friendship, and vpon this foundation he did alwayes communicate with me matters of conscience, and discharges of his goodes, wherein alwayes I did know of hym, that he did procure to do well, and did shunne and auoyde to offende, I knowe not what to write moze in this matter vnto your Lordship, but that the good Constable (if he finished his life here in Madrid) at the least in my chronicle his memozye shall remayne immortall. From Madrid the 25. of October, 1529.

A letter vnto the Admirall, Sir Frederique Enriques, in which is expounded, wherefore Abraham and Ezechiel did fall forward, and Hely and the Iewes backwardes,

Right renowned Lord and Archmariner, great be the complaints that your Honor sendeth me in this your last letter: the one for that I haue not answered thys years

yeare vnto youre writing: and the other, because I haue not sent your doubt absolued. The truth knowen and the certain- tie vnderstood, neyther shall I be blamed, or you remaine of- fended. The very truth that hath passed in this matter is, that as they haue stolen from Mansilla your seruant his horse, and he playen away al his money that he brought by the way (in seeking to borrow, to pay at his lodging) he forgot with me to take order for his answer. Since I read youre letters with a very good will, and presently forthwith did put my self in studie for your doubts, it is not iust that faulte to be impu- ted vnto me, if youre seruantes be forgetfull to take their an- swer. Oftentimes I was both ashamed and also offended, to see your letters come so bitter and so cholerike: that of a troth to shew so much anger, and to write so beaute or leadenlike, youre Lordship had no occasion, and muche lesse any reason. But as your body is little, and your hart exceeding the same, by a third or fift: if you giue him place to speake what he wil, and that he complayne what he feeleth, beleue me my Lorde and be out of doubt, you shall linc in your selfe payned and discontented, and of others not welbeloued.

The great and mightie Lords, ought of nothing moze to presume or boast themselves, than to haue great harts, which they ought to inioy, (if they will imploy them well,) in mo- derating themselves in great prosperities, and not to be dis- maied in their great aduersities. My iudgement is, since your Lordship is naturally cholerike, and of small patience, that you giue not your selfe to write when you be distempered: for men do write many times in their choler, whiche after- wards they would not should haue passed (so much as) their thoughts. To the argument whiche you alledge that I este- med you but little because I wold not answer presently: this I answer, I deny the premises, and desye the consequence: because your Lordship hath much, may do muche, deserueth much, and therefore we all esteeme you very muche. For me to be ignorant of the great estate of your persone, of bloud so disposed, of iudgement so delicate, in letters of so great ex- ercise,

A lesson for
Lords.

excise, and of so greates betteritie in armes: the cause were to great foolishnesse, or to much lacke of wit. But let the same rest, let vs deuide all this unkindnesse amongst vs, whiche is to wit, that your Lordship from hence forth deferre, or put off your choler, pardon Mansilla for forgetting his letter: and also bind me to expound your doubts: and after this manner we will giue amends to that which is past, and be silent for the time to come.

The exposition
of the text.

Your honour demaundeth, that I declare, wherefore the Patriarch Abraham in the vale of Mambre, and the Prophete Ezechiel neare vnto the river Cobar, as holy scripture saith of them, fell to the ground vpon their faces: and contraritwise, Heli the Prophete, and the Iewes that took Christe, fell backwards. Your Lordship hath to consider, that it is not so light or easie whiche you doubt of, for if I be not deceyued, it is a question that few men do moue, and in a manner none dothe expound. For notwithstanding I haue seene much, and read much, I can not remember me to haue considered or doubted, neither at any time to haue preached thereof: I dare be bold to say, that by these two maners of fallings, the one backwards, and the other forwards, do signifie two kindes of sinning. For euen as to fall after the one manner or the other, in the end all is falling: so in like manner, to sinne after the one sort or the other, all is sinning. Those that do fall vpon the backe, and backwards, we see them haue their faces discovered, and looking vp to heauen: by these are to be vnderstood: those which do sinne without the feare of God, & afterwardes haue no shame to haue sinned. We see by experience that he that falleth forwards, may helpe hym selfe to rise with his hands, with his elbowes, with his knees, and with his feete: by this I would say, that then we haue hope to come out of sinne, when we shall be ashamed to haue sinned. The contrary happeneth in him that falleth backwards, & whych can neuer help him selfe with his handes, or lift him selfe, or stay with his feete. By this I would say, that the man that is not ashamed to be a sinner, late or neuer shall we see hym come

To be ashamed
of sinne, is
hope of amendment.

come out of shame: as Plutarch and Aulus Gellius doe saye, that no yong man of Rome might enter amongst the common women, but with their faces very wel covered. If they hapned any so vnshamefast that they enter or come forth discovered: so openly was he chastised, as if he had committed some forcible adultery. It is to be noted, that all those that fell forward were saints: as Abraham and Ezechiel: and on the contrary, those that fell backwardes, as Hely the priest of the temple, and the Iewes that sold Christ were sinners. Out of all this there may be gathered, how much, and how greatly we haue to regard, not only that we fall, either so much as to stumble: for we knowe not whether we shall fall forward as Abraham, or backward as the vnforsunate Hely. Considering we descend of sinners, liue amongst sinners, be constant amongst sinners, and this world being in so great want of iust men, we cannot deliuer our selues from all sinnes: soyntly therefore with thes let vs pray vnto the Lord, that if he take away his grace, that we do fall, that he take not away shamefastnesse wherewith to arise. Much is God offended with vs to see how little we esteeme to sinne, but he is muche more offended to see how slowly we remember to repent: for they be very few that do leaue to sinne, but at the time when they cannot more sinne. Oh how many more be they that fall backward with Hely, than forward with Abraham: for if there be one that is ashamed of sinne, there is an hundred that account sinne but pastime. Let euery man esteeme himselfe as he list, and let euery man say what he supposeth: but for my part I hold none for a greater sinner, than he that accompts himselfe for very iust: neyther do I conceiue for very iust, but he that acknowledgeth himselfe to be a great sinner. God doth well knowe what we can do, and he vnderstandeth very well the strength that we haue: and thereof it is, that he is not offended so, that we be not iust, but because we doe not confesse to be sinners. I remember to say, that God doth not maruell that we be humane in sinning, but of which doth offend him is, for that being as we are.

no greater sinner than he that presumeth to be good.

are so great sinners, we would well make the world believe that we be very iust. Let the conclusion be in this matter, that they only fall backwards with Hely; and with the Hebrewes that so without remorse sit downe to sinne, as they would sit downe to eate, and lie downe to sleepe. Of that which I doe most marvell in this matter is, that being as we are fallen into most grievous finnes, we do so fare, and go so contented, as though we had receyued of God a safeconduit to be lauch. Behold here my Lord your letter answered. Behold your doubt absolved. Behold here my fault excused. And also behold here your choler remoued. No more but that our Lord giue you his grace, and vnto me his glory. From Madrid the 11. of November. 1528.

A letter vnto the Abbot of Monserrate, wherein is touched the oratories that the Gentiles vsed, &c. that it is a better life to liue in Monserrate, than at the Court.



Of reuerend, and blessed Abbot, in the eleuenth Calends of May, your sponke brother Roger gaue me a letter of yours, which I receyued with gladnesse, and read with pleasure, for that it was from your fatherhode, and brought by the hands of that grane father. Of Aurelianus the Emperour it is read, that the letters which Domitius sent vnto him were so tedious, that he heard them, but did not answer them; and the letters that the Censoz Turinus sent him, he himselfe did read them, and with his owne hand answered them. Of a troth there be men so tedious in their speech, and so without grace in writing, that a man would rather be sicke of a feuer, than heare their talke, either reade their letters.

No man, of any man ought to maruell, since men be so diuers in complexion, and so variable in condition, that many times against our will the hart doth loue which were much better to be abhozred, and doth abhoze that which were better to

ter to be beloued. I say this father Abbot, to the ende you shall understand, that as oft as they say bete is one in Monerane, my heart reioyeth to heare some newes from thence, and the eyes be quickened in reading your letters.

Father you write unto me, that I aduertise you, if in the olde tyme amongst the Gentiles were such holy Oracles: as now is used amongst the Christians: to which demanding I will say what I have read, and that which presently I do remember. The Oracle of the Sicilians was Libeus, the Oracle of Rhodes was Ceres, the Oracle of the Ebbelians was the great Diana, the Oracle of the Palestines was Belus, the Oracle of the Argiues was Delphos, the Oracle of the Numidians was Iuno, the Oracle of the Romans was Berecinthia, the Oracle of the Thebans was Venus, the Oracle of the Spanyards was Proserpina, (whose temple stood in Cantabria, which is now called Nauara.) That which the Christians do now call Hermitage, the Gentils did name Oracle. This Oracle stood always distant from the Cities, and holden in very great veneration. There was always in the Temple one priest alone, it was well repaired, well lockte, and well wined, and those that went thither on Nations, they might only kisse the walles, & also from the doores behold, but within they might not enter, except ordinarie priests, and strange Embassadors. Here by the Oracle, they platted trees, within alwaies oyle did burn: the covering was all of lead to defende the raine: at the doore there stood an Idoll the which they did kisse: they had there a certaine hollowe trunk where they did offer, and an house bynden where they lodged.

Oracles of
old time,

Plutarch doth much praise the Emperour Alexander the great for that in all the kingdomes he conquered, and in all the provinces that he subdued, he commaunded Iolenne Temples to be made to praye in, and Oracles farre distant to visite.

The king Antigonus that was page to the Emperour Alexander, and father of king Demetrius, (althoughe they reprehend him to be absolute in gouernement, and dissolute in manners, the Historiographers do much praise him, because eue-

Antigonus to
be noted.

ry, where he went once into the Temple, and every moneth
 did sleep one night in the Oracle. The Senate of Athens did
 much more honour unto the blame Plato after his death, than
 they did when he was living: and the cause thereof was, for
 that the good Plato, when he was wearie of reading and stu-
 dying, did withdraw himself to live, and also to dye nere un-
 to a certaine deuoute Oracle, wherein he was after wards bur-
 ied, and as God abhorred Archidamas the Greeke, that was
 sonne to Agesilaus, after he had gouerned the common wealt
 of Athens 22. yeares, & had gotten him by sea & by land ten bat-
 tles, he commaunded to be made in the most sharpe mountai-
 nes of Argos a most solempne Oracle, wherein Archidamas did
 end his lyfe, and also for himselfe did chose a sepulchre. A-
 mongst all the oracles that of olde they had in Asia, the most
 famous was the Oracle of Delphos: for to that place from all
 partes of the world they did conuerge, and thither did carry
 moste presentes, and there made moste bolwes, and also from
 thence of their Goddes receyued most answers.

When Camillus ouercame the Samnites, the Romans made a
 vow, to make an image of gold to send to y^e Oracle, for to which
 purpose the matrons of Rome, gaue their cholets, their rings,
 their bracelets, and their eare rings from their persons, for
 which liberalitie they were greatly honozed and largely pri-
 uiledged. I haue sayd all this father Abbotte, to the end y^e
 shall vnderstand, that it is no new thing in this world to haue
 amongst the people temples and hermitages. The difference
 betwixt ours and theirs, is: that those Oracles men haue ap-
 poynted, but our sanctuaries God doth chose, to whome there
 followeth great utilitie, and no small securitie: for that in
 the place that of God is chosen, we may praye withoute
 any scruple. I doe remember I haue bene at oure Ladies
 of Lonto, of Gadalupe, del a penia de France, del a floz de Se-
 gonua, y de Balunera, the which houses and sanctuaries be all
 of much pzaier & admiration: but for my content & my conditi-
 on, our Ladie of the craggy Rocke. I finde it to be a building

of admiration, a temple of prayer, and a house of deuotion.
 Father Abbot I assure you of a truth, I do neuer see my selfe
 amongst those thatpe crage, amongst those high mountains,
 amongst those cruell rocks, & amongst those thick woods; that
 I did not purpose to be an other, that I did not forgoe for time
 past, and that I did not abhorre libertie, & did not to be alone.
 I did neuer passe by craggie mounte that I did not see I was not
 contrite, that I was not repentant of great sinnes, that I did
 not celebrate with teares, that I did not watche one night,
 that I gaue not to the poore: & about all, that I did not fill my
 selfe with sighing, and purpose to amend. And that it pleased
 the God of heauen that I were to be here, and in my whole
 life, as I haue purposed to be when I was there. The more
 I goe laden with naues, the more doell I hate my selfe in ver-
 tues, & which is worst of all, that in god behres I am a saint,
 and in doing good works I am a sinner, preaching as I doe
 preach, that heauen is full of good works, & hell is full of good
 thoughts. I knowe not whether they be my friends that doe
 counsel me, parents that doe importune me, enemies that do
 bize me, bullies that doe binne me, & all that withoute
 ceasing commaundes me, or the diuell that tempts me. The
 more I doe purpose to parte from the worlde, more and
 more I finde my selfe sinking to the bottome thereof. The
 trouth is, that the life of the Courte, is verie plaine for
 such as haue an appetite thereto: for there we suffer hunger,
 colde, thirste, wearie, pouertie, to witte, angers, dissa-
 uours and persecutions: all whiche be tollerable and verie
 easy to be suffered: for there is none that dothe hynder our
 libertie, neyther taketh reckning of our yolenesse. Welcome
 me father Abbotte, and be oute of doubt, for the soule and
 also for the bodye, your life is muche better there at Craggie
 Mounte, than this that we lead here at Courte: for the
 Courte serueth better to heare newes thereof, than to ex-
 perimente the things that passeth therein. In the Courte be
 that may doe little is to be forgotten, and the Court hath some-
 thing that is to be forgotten.

what is pertinen. In the court the poore dare not to crite, and
 the riche can not help himself. In the Court they be few that
 live contented, and many that be abhorred. In the Court all
 procure to be in favour and subtile, and in the end one on-
 ly both conquereth. In the Court none hath desire there to
 die, notwithstanding long, yet not any that will departe from
 thence. In the Court we see many doe to what they list, but be-
 reft of what is moeste. In the Court all doe blasphemie the
 court, notwithstanding all follow the court. Finally, I say
 and affirme that which I have said and preached, whiche is,
 that the Court is not but for men that be private and in fa-
 vour, that can gather the truee hereof and so young men that
 haue no feeling thereof, all with these conditions (Father Ab-
 bot) you will come and dwell at Court, from henceforth I
 make exchange for your craggy mount, and also doe promise
 you by the faith of a Christian, you shall more repent you to
 haue bin converted a courtier, than I to be admitted of the re-
 ligion of S. Bener. For the much good will I beare you, for the
 much deuotion I hold of that place, you are bound to pray unto
 God, that he will waile me from this infamous life, and fight
 me with his grace, without the whiche we cannot see him,
 and much lesse be saved. By the handes of Frier Roger I haue
 receyued the spoues you sent me, and to him I delivered the
 booke that he desired me in such wise, that I shall haue spoues
 to cate with, and your fatherhood a booke to pray in. In the rest
 that you write, as concerning your opponaterie, the case shall
 be, that you deale with God for me, as one that is deuoute,
 and I shall do with Cesar the worke of a friend, so more, but
 that our Lords be your protectors. From Valladolid the viij. of
 Jan. 1535.

Gods grace
 doth only
 save vs.

A letter vnto the Admirall Sir Frederique Enlignes, in the whiche
 there is declared a certaine authoritie of the holy scripture.

Right honourable and right famous Archbarriner, I am deter-
 mined before y^e Judge Ronquillo to aduize your Lord-
 ship, to the end that the parties called and hearde, be
 iudge:

he iudge and giue sentence betwixte vs, whether I, being as I am a Gentleman, and a Courtier, be bound to answere Extempore, vnto all your Letters: and to expounde all doubt-tes, which your honour so continually writeth vnto me. Your sollicito; is so impo;tunate fo; answere (I confesse) that ma-ny tymes I giue the seruauit to the Deuil, and also at some- time, I pray not vnto God fo; the maister.

Complayning yesterdays vnto your solicitour, fo; that he was so tedious, and bicause so continually he did mooue me, he made me answere with a verie good grate. Consider sir maister I giue you to vnderstande, that the Admirall (my Lozde) cra- neth of your reuerence, that you write vnto him as a friend, that you send him newes as a Chzonicler, declare his doubt-tes as a Diuine, and counsell his conscience as a Religious.

Wher vnto I replied, if your maister the Admirall will be well serued, also I wil be wel payed. The paiment shal be, fo; the office of Chzonicler, of a diuine, of a friend, and of a Coun- seler: that since I canot get my meat with the launce, I must obtayn it with the pen. I made al this threatening, not to the intente your Lordship shal giue me to eate, but fo; that you should cease to be impo;tune: fo; I thank God, the Emperour (that is my lozd and maister) hath not onely giuen me that whiche is necessarie, but also wherewith to relieue others. The benefit that we haue (that attend vpon Princes) is, that if we be bound to serue them, we haue alwaies licēce to craue of them, but let the conclusion be, that with the same inten- tion that I did speake those wordes here, it may please your Lordship to receiue them there: that in fine & in the end, chide we neuer so much, o; be we neuer so angrie, you must nedes do what I desire you: and I must of necessitie doe what you commaunde me.

I benefit due
to suche as
serue princes,

Your Lordships pleasure is, that I write vnto you, howe that terte is to be vnderstode of Elaias, where he sayeth, *Va tibi Ierusalem, quia bibisti calicem iræ Dei vsque ad feces*: Whiche wordes are to bee vnderstode: wo be vnto thee Ierusalem, because thou hast ozonke the cuppe of the Lozds wpath, euen

Ap. iij.

to the

to the dzeggs. Your lordship asketh a matter so high, & a thing so profound, that I had rather vnderstand than speak it, tast it than wryte it: for they know moze therof that be giue to contemplation, than such as be occupied in reading: but this is the doubt. Since God the father did send to Chzist his son, a cup to dzynke of bitternesse: wherof is Ierusalem repzeheaded, for the cup that she dzank of wzath: the one was the cup, the other was the cup: the one of bitternesse, the other of wzathe: the Synagogue did receyue the one, and the Church the other: Chziste dyd dzynke the one, Ierusalem dyd dzynke the other: God sent the one, and God sent the other. But since it is so, why doe they so muche prayse the cuppe that Chziste tasted of, and condemne the sozrowfull cuppe that Ierusalem dyd dzynke?

To vnderstand the profunditie of this scripture, we muste presuppose, that there be two maners of cuppes, which is to wit, the cup that is sayd simply only of God, and the cup that is sayd with an additon, that is, of the ire of God. There is so great difference betwixt these two cuppes, that in the one we dzynke heauen, in the other we swallow hell: the holy cup of God is no other thing but temptations, hunger, cold, thirste, persecutions, exile, pouertie, and martirdom: of which thinges, God giues to dzynke and to tast, to such as he hath chosen to serue him, and hath predestinate to be saued. Vnto whom God giueth this cup to dzynke, it is a signe that he is registered amongst them that shall be saued: in suche sorte that we can not escape Hell, but at the cosse of verie great tranel. Profoundly it is to be considered what Chzist sayde: that the cup should not only be giuen to his owne person, but that it shoulde also passe vnto his Church, in such wise that he dzynke thereof, but he made not an ende: for if Chzist had dzynke al the cuppe, only Chzist should haue entred the glozie. And for this cause he prayed vnto his father that the cup shoulde passe vnto those of his Church, for that we shoulde all enter with him into the glozie. Oh high miserie neuer heard of, y Chzist being in the Garden, in the darke alone, flat vpon his knees,

Sweete

sweating, praying, and weeping, he did not craue of his Father, that the elect of his Church shuld be cherished or worldly pampered, but of that cup he would giue them a draught to drinke. Of that cup of bitternesse and trauell, only Christ did drinke his fill: bicause he only was sufficient to redeme vs. All we that came after Christ. If we cannot drinke our fill, I would to God we might drinke sufficient for our Saluation: the sword of saint Peter, the Crosse of saint Andrew, the knife of saint Bartelmew, the girdierne of S. Laurence, & the sheares of saint Steuen, what other things are they, but certaine badges they haue receyued of Christe, and certaine gulpes they haue drunke of his cup. So many more degrees we shall receive in Heauen of Glorie, as we haue drunke of the cup of Christ in this life, and therefore we ought to pray vnto God euery day with teares, that if we cannot drinke all his cup, at the least that he will suffer vs to tast thereof. The cuppe of Christ (although it be bitter in drinking) after the drinking thereof, it both greate profit: I would saye, that the trauells which we suffer to be good, they giue not so much paine when we endure them, as they afterwarde giue pleasure, hating passed them. Whomde who will of the wines of Illana, of the buttes of Candia, and of the pipes of Rebedew: but for my consolation and saluation, I aske not of God, but that al the days that remaine of my life, he giue me leaue to drinke if he please but one drop of his cup.

Badges of
Christ.

There is another Cup which is called the cup of wrath of God: wherof to speake, the entrailes do open, the hart doth faile, the flesh doth tremble, and the eyes do weepe: with this God doth threaten vs, this is that whiche the Prophet speaketh of: Of this the sorrowfull Ierusalem did drinke: of this the vnforsunate Synagogue did make hir selfe dronke. And the drunkenesse of this, was the cause that Israel was banished from Iudea, and translated into Babilon.

He drinketh of the cup of wrath, that falleth from the state of grace wherein he stood, wherof it soloweth that the soule is much more dead without grace, than a body without a soule.

3. iij.

3. iij.

Then

Withoute
grace a soule
is lyke a body
without life.

Then it is sayde that God is an angred, when he is carelesse of vs, and that day that we be forgetfull to feare him, and he not delighted to loue vs, and stumbling at euery steepe, in the end of the iorney we shall be condemned. Oh what difference there is in the wrath that men doe shewe, and in that wrath and yre, which is sayd to procede from God: for when men be angry they reuenge, but God when he is angrie, hee ceaseth to chastise. In suche wise that God doth moze chasten an euill man, when he deferreth & doth dissemble with hym, than when he doth presently torment him. There is not a greater temptation, than not to be tempted: there is no greater trouble, than not to be troubled: there is not greater chastisement, than not to be chastised: neyther is there a greater whip, than not to be scourged of God. The sick man of whose helth the physician dispaireth, is in small hope of his life, I would say, that his sinne which God doth not chastise: I haue great suspition of his saluation.

It is much to be noted, that the Prophete dothe not onely threaten *Ierusalem* say that she did drinke the cuppe of wrath: but also because she did drinke the grounds and dreggs therof, untill nothing was left: in suche wise, that if there had bin moze, she woulde haue dronke moze. To drinke of the cuppe vnto the dregges, is: that hauing offended God greuously committing all manner of sinnes wickedly, forsaken some articles of the faith peruersely, and hauing sinned with al the members damnable: As if the commandements being ten, had bin ten thousand, we had rather die than leaue any one of them disobeyed.


To drinke the Cup vnto the dregges, is when we be not contented with breaking of one commandement or two or thre, but that of force they must be broken al ten: to drinke the cup vnto the dreggs, is: if we leaue to commit any sinnes, it is not for want of will, but for want of power, or for want of occasion: to drinke the cup vnto the dregges is, that we doe not onely content our selues with sinning, but that we doe presume and boaste ourselves of oure sinning: to
drinke

Drinke the cuppe vnto the dzegges is, committing as we doe all manner of sinnes, we can not suffer that they call vs sinners; to drinke the cup vnto the dzegges is, to haue so greate vnshamefastnes in sinning, that we dare not entice and bzge others to sinne: to drinke the cup vnto the dzegges is, to haue our desires like a saint, and our deserts like a deuill.

Behold here my Lozde Admirall, what I conceaue of that text of the Prophet, beholde here what I do thinke of youre doubt, and I beseech God our Lord that he being pleased, we may deserue to drinke of the cup that Christ did drinke of, and not of the cup that Ieremie doth write of. I write not vnto your lordship newes of the court as I was wont to write, because it seemeth to commit treason vnto the holy Scripture, if we should place any profane things at the fote of so holy a matter. No more but that our Lord giue vs his grace. From Madrid the xxv. of March.

To drinke of the one, or of the other, great choyce is to be vsed.

Another letter vnto the same Commendathor, Sir Lewes Braue, wherein is written the conditions that the honorable old men ought to haue: and that loue sildome or neuer departeth the hart where it is entred.

Ery noble and reformed knight, by þ words of youre letter, I vnderstode how quickly the medicine of my writing came to youre hart, and I do much reioyce to haue shotte at you with an arrow so inuenomed, that was sufficient to make you stagger: but not to strike you downe. Although in the other letter whiche I did write vnto you, it repented me to call you noble: now I holde it for very well employed, in this letter to entitle you very noble, because you haue amended the abuse of your life, and answered according to your noblenesse.

Sir you write vnto me, that the words of my letter did penetrate your hart, and touch you to the quicke, and to say you the

the troth, I was right glad thereof: for I did not write it that you should onely reade it, but to the end you should cordially feele it. Jointly with this I promise you as a Gentleman, and sweare vnto you as a Christian, that it was not my meaning when I did write vnto you to offend you, but to the intent to amend you. Also you say, that at the instant you read my letter you burned the tokens of your enamored, dyd tear the letters of loue, dispatch the page of messages, remoued all talke of youre loue, and gaue a quittance to the Pandor. I cannot but praise what you haue done, and much moze will praise it when I shall see you continue and perseuer in the same. For vices be so euill to be vntrooted where they once take place that when we thinke they be all gone, in the house they remayne hidden. Sir I giue you great thanks so that you haue done, and also do craue pardon so that I haue said, although it be true, to see you amended I do little esteeme that you be offended. For an unkindnesse is sooner lost, than vice remoued.

Also you craue of me in your letter, that since I haue written you the conditions of an old man enamored, that I write also vnto you the conditions that a wise olde man ought to haue: bycause by the one may be knowne the shelve that is to be shunned, and by the other the channell obtayned that is navigable, wherein I delight to accomplish your request, and to write your desire: although it be true, that I knowe not, if my iudgement shall haue so delicate a bayne, and my pen so good a grace, in giuing counsell, as in reprehending. For there be many that in giuing counsell be very cold, but in speaking malicious taunts very skillfull. Sir, I will doe my indenuour to do and say the best I can, with an admonition that I giue before all things vnto him that shall heare or reade the same, that he prepare, not to take so greates a tast in reading these counsels, as profit by vsing them.

The olde men of your age, they oughte to be so aduised in that they speake, and such examplers of that they do, that not only they are not to be teene to do euill works, either so much

as to

as to speake vnhonest words. For the olde man that is absolute and dissolute: is sufficient to corrupt or cast away a whole Towne or common wealth. The old men of your age: ought to giue, not onely good examples, but also good counsell: for the inclination of the yong man is to erre and to varie, and the condition of the old man, ought to be to correct by discretion, and giue good counsell to amende. The old men of your age: ought to be gentle, modest, and patient: for if in times past they were bꝛaders of discorde, now they ought to be makers of peace. The olde men of your age ought to be masters of such as know little, and defenders of such as can do little, and if they may not giue them remedie, they leaue not to giue them comfort. For the hart that is tormented, despised, and in great distresse, sometimes receyueth more comfort with the wordes which they speake, than with that whiche they giue them. The old men of your age, now haue no time to be occupied, but in visiting of hospitalles, and relieuing the poore: for there may not be a thing more iust, than that, so many partes as haue bin spent to bꝛothel houses, should now be spent to visit Temples. The old men of your age, ought not to be busied, but in making their discharges when they be in house, and to be waille their sinnes when they go to Church: for he standeth in great successe of saluation, that in his life doth that he ought to do, and in his death what he can do.

The olde men of your age ought to vse great measure in the wordes they speake, and pleasant breuitie in that they recount, and also they ought to beware to tell newes, and much lesse to vse to relate fables: for in such a case, if they call yong men light and foolish, they wil say that old men dote and babble. The old men of your age ought to be remoued from contentions, and from troubles in law, and if it be possible, to redeme them by the waight of money, so the end to be free from infinite traueles: for yong men onely do feele the trauell, but the old men do feele veration, and bewaile the displeasure. The olde men of your age, ought to haue their communications with persons wel complexioned, & not cail conditioned,

with

Rules for old men.



Conuersation
for old men.

with whome they may repose and pleasantly be conuersant : for there is not in this mortall life a thing that doth so recreate the hart: as is swete conuersation. The old men of youre age ought to seeke men, and chuse honest friends, and muche to consider that the friends whiche they shall chuse, and the men with whome they shall be conuersant, be not tedious in their speech, and impoztunate in craving: for friendship and impoztunitie neuer seeke at one dill, either name themselves to be of one band.

The exercise
of good old
men.

The old men of your age, ought not as now to vse bayne and light pastimes, but to haue regarde to the bestowing of their goodes, and to consider for their houses: for the olde man that lookes not to his substance, shall want to eate, and he that watcheth not his house, shall not lacke wherefoze to weepe. The old men of your age be bound to go cleanly, and well clad, but they haue not licence to be curious, either with nicenesse to weare their garmentes: for in yong men to be neat, is a good curiositie, but in old men, it is great vanitie. The olde men of your age ought much to flee brawling with your aduersaries, either traaverse in words with your neighbours: for if they repleie any ouerthwart words, or speake any bitter iniury, the hurt is, that you haue a hart to feele it, and not strength to reuenge it. The old men of your age, ought to be charitable, pitifull, and almes giners: for yong menne without experience, walke so bedolted of the things of thys world, that it seemeth vnto them sufficiēt to be termed Christians: but the old men that time hath aduised, and age deliuered from disceit, let them hold it for certaine that God of the will neuer haue pitie, if they haue not charitie. The old men of your age, ought to haue some good bookes to profite, and other histories to passe away the time: for as now their age doth not suffer to walke, muche lesse to trauell, and as they are forced all day to be idle and pensive, so is it of moze deservuing that they fill themselves with reading in bookes: than to be tired in thinking of times past. The old men of youre age ought to auoide entering into conuocations, sessions, and
Siles:

Wises: for in such places they intreat not but causes of the common wealth, and interest for goodes: and that by the iudgement of froward yong men, and men passioned, where they neuer beleene the wise, either heate the olde of experience. The olde men of your age, when you shall be in counsell, or called to counsell, ought not to be rash, tanglers, or contentions: for it apertayneth to yong men to solow their opinion, & the old men but only reason. The olde men of your age, ought to be sober, patient, and chaff, and to presume moze to be named veridicous than old: for in these times, and also in time past, they haue moze respect to the life he leadeth, than to the hoare heares he weareth. The olde men of your age, ought to hold for their chiefest exercise, to go euery day to Church, and to heare seruice on the holyday: and if this shall seeme painefull, or tedious, I giue him licence to go no offer to Church being old, than he went to visite his innamored when he was yong. The olde men of your age, ought to haue all things well provided for their loutes, to vnderstand also for the health of their persons: for as Galene sayth, old age is so monstrous in condition, that it is neither a sickness finished, or a perfect health. The old men of your age, before all thinges ought to procure their houses good and healthy, situate in a gladsome & sound ayre: for I am of opinion, that there is no goodes better imployed, than that whiche old men bestowe vpon a good house. The old men of your age, ought to procure, not only to dwell in a good house, but also to sleepe in a good chamber, in a bedde very cleint, and the chamber very close: for as the old man is delicate and of small strength, so he is moze offended by a little ayre that comes in at a chinke, than the cold of one whole winter night old graue him when he was yong. The old men of your age, ought very much to procure to eate good bread, and to drinke good wine, and the bread that is well baked, and the wine that is a yeare old: for as old age is compassed with infirmities, and laden with sadnesse, the good vituals shall hold them in health, and the good wine shall leade them in mirth. The old men of your age, ought much to consider that they

The notes of
good old men.

Necessary pro-
vision for olde
men.

A diet for old
men.

meales

meates be small, their meate yong and well seasoned: and if they eate much, and of many meates, they euer goe sicke: for notwithstanding they haue money to buy them, they haue not heate to digest them. The old men of your age, ought to procure their bed curteyned, their Chamber hanged, a meane fire, the chimney without smoke: for the life of olde men consisteth in going cleanly, warme, contented, and without anger. The old men of your age, ought vtterly to auoide to dwell vpon any riuer, either to do their busines in moist groundes, either to sleepe in ayyr places, for olde men being delicate as they are, be like chyldren, and naturally accraised: the ayre shall penetrate their potuers, and moystnesse shall enter their bones. The old me of your age, vpon paine of their life ought to be temperate in their diet, refusing to eate late: for old me, as they haue their stomacks weake and growen colde, they may not digest two meales in a day: for the olde man that is vnsatiable and a glutton, vsing the contrary, shall belike much and sleepe little. The olde men of your age, to the ende that they be not sicke, or grow heauie, neryther turne to be grosse, ought a little to refreshe them selues, walke into the fieldes, vse some exercise, or be occupied in some facultie: for otherwise, it might happen them to get a tische, or a lamenesse in their limmes: in such wise, that it will be hard to fetch breath, and by puffing and blowing giue warning where you walk. The old men of your age ought to haue great care to auoyde all contentions bzabbling amongst their seruants, and sometime to beare with their negligences, to pay their wages, to the ende they go contented: for otherwise they will be negligent in service, and very lustle in stealing. For conclusion, the old men of your age ought much to procure to weare their apparell swete and cleanly: their shirts very well washed: their house neat and well swept, and their chamber very close, warme, and well smelling. For the olde man whiche presumeth to be wise, if he will liue in health, and goe contented, ought to haue his body without lise, & his hart without strife. In the end of your letter you wyte, that haniug list to lons,

soyow

Temperance
in old men
prouoketh
sleepe and a-
uoydeth belike.

A conclusion
with rules,
conuenient for
old men.

for so leaueth not to bere you, which bleth to solow the ena-
mored and instantly you desire me to giue you some remedy,
so to sende you some comfort: so notwithstanding you haue
thowen it out of the house, it leaueth not now and then to
knocke at the gate.

For in this case I remit you to Harmogenes, to Telsiphontes,
to Doreatus, to Plutarch, and to Ouid, which spent much time,
and wrote many booke, to giue order in what manner the
enamored shoulde loue, and the remedies that for their loue
they shoulde vse. Let Ouid write what him pleaseth, & Dorcas
say what he thinketh good, but in fine, there is no better reme-
dy for loue, than is, neuer to begin to loue: for loue is so euill
a beast, that with a thred he suffreth to be taken, but he
will not depart with the nyls of a launse. Let every man con-
sider what he attempteth, make what he doth, beholde what
he taketh in hand, note whither he dothe enter, and haue re-
garde where he may be taken: for if it were in his handes to
set the tables, he is not certaine to win the game. There is in
loue after it is begon, infinite shrewes, immeasurable sloughes,
daungerous rockes, and vnknowen whirlepoles, in whych
some remaine defaced, others blinded, some besoyled, and also
some others utterly drownded, in such wise, that he that is best
deliuered, I accompt to be euill deliuered.

Oh how many times did Hercules desire to be deliuered
from his loue Mirinda, Menelaus from Doria, Pyrrhus from
Helena, Alcibiades from Dorobella, Demophon from Phillis, Ha-
siball from Sabina, and Marcus Antonius from Cleopatra, from
whome they could neuer, not only depart, but also in the end
for them, and with them, they were cast away.

In case of loue, let no man trust any man, and much lesse
him selfe: for loue is so naturall to man or woman, and the de-
fire to be beloued, that where loue amongst them dothe once
cleare, it is a foze that neuer openeth, and a bond that neuer
vnknitteth. Loue is a metall so delcat, & a canker so secret, &
he planteth not in y face where he may be sene, nor in y pulse
where he may be felte, but in the soowfull hart. where (al-
though

A most cer-
taine remedie
for loue.

*

*

...
...
...

*mundum ut
medium*

*

though he be sensible) they dare not discover it. After all this, I say, that the remedie that I giue for lone, is, that they giue him no place to enter amongst the entrayles, nor giue they eyes libertie to behold windowes, or giue eare to balconies, either suffer any trade of Dames to come or goe, & if any come to house, to shut the doores, and not to walke abroad after evening: if with these conditions lone may not altogether be remedied, at the least it may be eased and amended.

*I sodaine and
strange spec-
tacle.*

Sir (and my gossip) if you will in all these things profite youre selfe and well consider thereof, you shall be excused of many angers, and also saue much money. For to your age and my granitie it is more conuenient to vnderstande of the best times, than to view the windowes of the enamored. Take for example & chastisement the Licentiat Burgos, your acquainted, and my great friend, which being old (and enamored as you) died this saterday, a death so strange and fudgayne, as was fearefull to al men, and sorrowfull to his friends. No more, but our Lord be your guide, and giue me grace to serue him. From Burgos the 24. of Febr. 1513.

A letter vnto Sir Iames of Guenara, vnto the Author, wherein he doth comfort him, for that he hath bin sicke.



*Note the elo-
quence of the
Author.*

Magnificent and right honorable Uncle, it pleaseth your Honor to complaine of mee in your letter, that I neither serue you as my good Lord, either do sue as vnto a father, or visite as an vnckle, neyther write as vnto a friende. I may not denie, but as concerning kined you are my Fathers brother, in merit my good Lord, my father in curtesie, and my Progenitor in giuing of liberrall rewards, which I haue receiued at your hands: not as a nephew, but as a sonne much beloued.

Since I haue confessed the affinitie that I hold, and affirme the dette that I do owe, no more will I denie the fault that I haue

haue

haue committed in neglecting my dutie in visiting and writing vnto you: for with our friendes we ought to accomplishe vntill we may doe no more, and spende vntill we haue no moze: let it auayle what it may auayle, and my excuse serue, what it may serue. The very troth is, that I go in this court with myne offites so occupied, and so bewandred in my busines, that scarcely I knowe any man, neither yet remember my selfe: and this which (I say) is not so muche to excuse my fault, as it is to accuse my King. For in the time when I was a lye, and abode in my monastery, I did rise earely to go to Church, I studied my booke, preached my sermons, fasted the aduents, perfozmed my disciplines, bewailed my sinnes, and prayed for sinners: in such sort, that every night I made a reckening of my life, and every day did renewe my conscience. But afterwards, I died: afterwards they buried me: and afterwards they bzought me vnto the Court: I grew negligent in fasting, I brake holy days, I forgot my disciplines, I dyd no almes, I prayed with negligence, I preached sildome, I spake at large, I suffred little, I celebrated wth dulnesse, I presumed much, and ouer much: and the worst of all is, that I gaue my selfe to vnprofitable conuersations, the which lead me vnto some tedious passions, and also affectiōs to be auoyded. Beholde here my Lorde and Uncle, after what manner we goe in Court, neither know we kindred, or speake to friends, neither be sensible of the mischiefe, or profit vs of the time, neyther do we seeke rest, or haue any wit: but wandring here and there, we goe as certaine men bedolled and charged with a thousand thoughts.

The perfect condition of a friende.

Buried, being a lye.

But setting this apart, since in time to come there shal be amends, and so that which is past I may obtaine pardon, I shall promise you by the faith of an honest nephew, that the court hauing passed these ports, I shall come to visit you, and wil write by euery messenger. Sir Ladron your sonne and my cosin willed me (here in Madrid) that I shoulde write vnto you, the sortow which I conceyued of the sicknesse your Lordship hath had, and the long diseases you haue passed. The ex-

celle you vsed, is grief vnto mee: the ague that held you, sorroweth me: the sorowes you haue past, displeaseth me: the syzopes you receyued, irketh mee: the purgations you vsed, lothed me: the oymntentes you experimented, despiseth me: the bathes you proued, are tedious, and tormenteth mee: the lauatozies you tasted, payneth me: the money you wasted, vereth me: bycause the sicke man, considering the goodes he expended, and the little that medicines haue profited, many tymes it dothe moze gréne hym, that he giueth to the Physition and Apoticarpe, than the maladie whiche he suffered.

Behold here my Lorde, howe I am not a man that giueth one sorowe, but an hundred if need bee: although it be true, that a thousand tymes it sorroweth me, is not so much woorth as one if pleaseth me. Licurgus in the lawes that he gaue to the Lacedemonians, did commaund, that no man should bring euill newes to any man, but that the patient should diuine it, or by discourse of tyme, he shoulde vnderstande it. The diuine Plato in the booke of his common wealth, did counsell the Athenians that they should not visite any of their neyghbours in tyme of aduersitie, except they coulde by some meanes remedie them. For (he sayd) and sayd well, that colde and vnfauorie is that comfort, when it commeth not betwixt in some remedie. Of a trouth, to remedie and giue counsell bee two distinct offices, & very seldome coneyned in one person: for counsel is to be giue by the wise, & the remedie by him that possesseth the same. My Lord & vncle, I would God, that your remedie were in my hands (as it is to desire it) that I myght rather say, It pleaseth me of your helth, than that it sorroweth me of your sicknes. Sir, you haue to vnderstand, I beare you much enuie: not of Paradilla, where you dwel, not to the newe plated vineyard which you possesse, or to the mil y you make, either to the nintie yeares that you possesse, but of the order that you vse in your house: for that in hartour it is a palace, and in honest ciuilitie, a Colledge.

A good praise
to a Gentle-
man.

Caro the iudge, in his old age did withozatw himselfe to a
countrey

countray house, which stode betwixt Nola, and Caieta, & all the Romanes that pass thereby did say, *iste solus scit viuere*: whiche is to vnderstand, this man knoweth to liue by himself, wherfore they reported that he had withdrawn himself thither in time, and sequestred himselfe from the hurly burly of the woorld. The greatest mercy that God bleth to an old man is to giue him to vnderstand, that he is become old: for if he know this of himself, of a trouth he shal fynd that the olde man hath not of any thing moze certaintie, than euery day to looke for death. Plato saide: *iuuenes cito moriuntur, senes autē diu viuere nō possunt*, & is to say, it is true that yong men die quickly, but the old men can not liue long. The Steele being spent, the knife may not cut: the talow consumed, the candle goeth out: the Sunne being set, the day can not tarie: the floure being fallen, ther is no hope of fruite. By that which is sayd, I would say, & after an olde man is past foure scoze yeres, he ought to make moze readinesse to die, than promises to liue. Diodorus Siculus sayth, that it was a lawe amongst the Egyptians, that no king, after he had childe, either any old man hauing passed threescoze yeres, shoulde presume to buylde an house, without first for himselfe he had made a sepulcher. My Lord, thus much I say, that not as an Egyptian, but as a good Christian, you haue in the Monastery of Cuenca, made a sepulture, and indued a chapel, where your bones shall rest, and whereof your kynred may boaste.

Peter of Reynosa (your neyghbour, and my greafe friende) hath aduertised me, that in the pleasant Peradilla, the storm hath spoyled your wheate, and that in lothe places the vines be blasted, with which lamentable and strange chaunce (although you feele much grief) your lordship must shewe good courage, and haue great patience: for that you now stande in suche arrage, as you shall rather wante yeres to lyue, than coyne to eate. Those that ingrosse wyne to make it deare, & keepe their coyne against the moneth of May, vpon such men, beauienesse ought to fall, and vpon suche losse is wel employd:

X
 for there is nothing so meete, eyther moze iust, than the man
 that wissheth an euill yeare to the common wealth, shoulde
 neuer see a good yeare enter his owne house.

It is a propertie of such as be muche couetous, and little
 vertuous to murmur at that which nature doth performe,
 and God doth permit, in such sort that they will rather amide
 God, than correct themselves. Let houses fall, the vines be bla-
 sted, the stozmes spoile corne, the flocks die, and rent gathe-
 rers run away: if we giue thanks to God for that he leaueth
 vs, if we do not murmur for that he taketh away, if we grow
 not dull to serue him, he will neuer grow negligent to giue vs
 prouision. They say vnto me that your Lordship is vexed,
 forsofull, and also vntactable: these are priuileges of olde
 menne, but not of wise olde men: for it shoulde be a muche
 greater losse to haue the wit blasted, thā the Corne destroyed.
 Vnde you know very well, that in all the markets of Vilada,
 & Palencia we shal find bzead to be sold, but in none of the fair-
 es of Medina, shal we find wisdom to be bought: for which
 cause men ought to giue moze thanks vnto God, for that he
 did create them wise, than for that he made them rich. It is
 a moze sounde welthinesse for a man to esteeme himselfe
 wise, than to presume to be of great wealth: for with wisdom
 they obtaine to haue, but with haueing they come to lose the-
 selues. The office of humanitie is to seke trauels, and the
 office of reason is, to dissemble them. For when sodaine as-
 saultes come vpon vs, and infortunes knocke at our gates,
 if the hart shoulde receiue them all and of euery one complaine
 and bewaile: he shoulde neuer haue wherof to recount, and ne-
 uer want wherfoze to lament.

X
 X
 The soyle
 man weepeth
 not but for the
 losse of a friend

Prometheus that gaue lawes to the Egyptians, said that the
 Philosopher should not wepe for any thing, but for the losse
 of his friend: for all other things are contained in our chests,
 onely the friend dwelleth in the hart. If Prometheus did not
 permit to shew any griefe but for a friende, it is not credible
 that he would wepe for the corne in the field, wherin he had
 greete reason: for notwithstanding that the losse of tem-
 porall

poꝛ all god is, wherewith we be moſte grieved: yet on the o-
ther part, it is that where in our loſſe is leaſt. Seeing the in-
certayntie of this lyfe, and the continuall chaunges that be
in the ſame, as little ſuretie men haue thereof, that be in
their houſes, as the coꝛne that is in the field. I dare ſay that
we haue very little wherein to truſt, and many things wher-
of to be afraid. It is not vnknownen to your Lordſhip, that
in this lyfe there is nothyng ſure, ſince we ſee the coꝛne bla-
ſted, trees ſtricken downe, floures fall, woodde woꝛmeaten,
cloath deuoured with moathes, cattell doe ende, and menne
doe dye: and that all thynges well marked, in the ende all
thynges haue an ende. Men that haue paſſed thꝛee ſcore yea-
res, haue foꝛ their pꝛiuillege, to ſee in their houſes great miſ-
foꝛtunes, whiche is to witte, abſence of friendes, deathe of
childzen, loſſe of goodes, infirmities in their perſones, peſti-
lences in the common wealth, and manye nouelties in foꝛ-
tune: and foꝛ thys cauſe Plinie durſte ſaye, that men ought
not to be boꝛne, if that be being boꝛne foꝛthwith ſhould die.
Wh howe well ſayde the diuine Plato, that men oughte not
to be carefull to liue long, but to lyue well. I thought good
thus muche to write vnto you, to the ende you ſhoulde vn-
derſtande to pꝛoſſite your ſelfe by olde age, ſince you had ſkil
to enioye the dayes of youth: foꝛ in the age of foureſcore yea-
res, it is a tyme to make ſmall accounte of lyfe, and to be
great ſkil and no ſmall reckening of death.

All theſe thinges I haue wꝛitten vnto your Lordſhippe,
and my good vncle, not foꝛ that you haue neede, but bicauſe
you ſhall haue wherein to reade, and alſo to the ende you
ſhall vnderſtande, that (although I go beſcattered and wan-
dryng in thys Court,) I doe not leaue to reknoledge the
god. No more, but that our Lorde be your pꝛotectour.
From Madrid the eleuenth of Marche. 1533.

The honeſt
care, not to
liue long, but
well.

A letter unto Master Gonfalis Gil, in which is expounded
 that which is sayd in the Psalmist, *Intimaui cor meum
 ad faciendas iustificationes tuas in eternum.*



* Who is sorrow-
 ful of people,

Right reuerend and eloquent Doctor,
ad ea quæ mihi scripsisti quid tibi sum respo-
surus ignoro: although I saye that to so
 many things I know not to answer,
 I should haue sayd better, that I dare
 not to write. For the affaires of our
 common wealthe, are come to that es-
 tate, that though we be bound to seeke
 them, we haue no licence to repute
 them. It is too greuous in our humanitie to suffer iniuries,
 but it is much more greuous vnto the hart to keepe them se-
 cret, and not to utter them: for the remedie of the sorrowfull
 hart is, to discouer his payson, and to vnburden where he lo-
 ueth. He deserueth much, and can do very much, that bathe a
 hart to seele things as a man, and dissembleth them as discret.
 For he is of a greater courage that forgettes the sorrow that
 once entred into the hart, than he which reuengeth it. If my
 memorie should reueale what it doth retaine, my tong speake
 what it doth knowe, and my pen write what me listeth, I am
 sure those that be present would maruell, and suche as be ab-
 sent, would growe offended: for nowe burneth the pearcher
 without tallow, and at randon all goeth to the bottom. The
 armie of gentlemen be here in Medina del ryo secco, and they
 of the communalte in Villa Braxima, in suche wise, that to the
 one we desire victorie, and of the other we haue compassion.
 For the one be our good Lorde, and the others our good friends:
 I desire that the part of the gentlemen may overcome: and it
 grieveth me to see the deathe and fall of the poore: chiefly for
 that they know not what they aske, either vnderstand what
 they do. If the trauell of the warre, and the perill of the bat-
 tel might light vpon their shoulders, that were inuenters ther-
 of, and that haue altered the people, it shoulde be tollerable to
 see, and inst to suffer: but alas the sorrow, they fight in safetie,
 and

and chase the bull in great suretie: we haue the monasterie full of souldiours, and the Colles occupied with knights: where in, there is no place for a man to withdraue, eyther a quiet houre to studie: In such wyse, that if my Booke be scattered, also my wits be wandring. What quietnesse or contentation will you that I haue, seeing the king is oute of his kingdome, the comunons rebell, the counsell fled, the Gentlemen persecuted, the towncs men altered, the gouernours affrighted, and the people sacked, every houre enfreth men of warre, every houre they make alarums, every houre they sound to battell, every houre they ordeine ambushes, every houre there is skirmishes, every houre they intende repayres, and also every houre I see them bring men wounded. The Cardinal and the gouernours commaunde me to preache and instructe them in the affaires of peace, that which I can say, is every thirde day I goe from one campe to an other, and they of the commonaltie will not helpe me, neither will be conuerted: in suche wise that they haue the voyce of Iacob, and the handes of Esau. In this ciuil warre, I heare them say from thence so many things, that it displeaseth me, and I see here so many things that discontenteth me, *Quod posui custodiam ori meo, ut non delinquam in lingua mea.* If they maste there with my letters, or yours should be sene here, eyther for not vnderstanding, or by euill interpreting, it might be, I should incurre some danger, and you discredite, *Ignosce mi domine, tum breuitate litterarum, tum etiam quod non liceat hic nostra tempestate apertius loqui.*

The Authour dothe expounde an authoritie of the Prophete.



In his other days (whiche was the lease of Saincte Thomas) when I preached vnto the Gouernours, you doe say in your letter that you hearde mee expounde that Verse of the Prophete, whiche sayeth: *Inclinam cor meum ad faciendas iustificationes tuas.*

Anty.

thus

The friende
vnto the frend,
neither hideth
secret, nor de-
nieth money.

nam in eternum propter tribulationem: and you desire me to send
it you in writing, in such forme & manner as I did promise
it in the pulpet. But I will performe it (although I vse it not)
for that I wishe you well, and am also beholding vnto you.
For the friend vnto his friende, should neither hyde secrete
that he knoweth, or denye any thing that he possesseth.


But coming to the purpose, it is a thing to be noted, & no lesse
to be marvelled, that the Prophet wold bind himself to serue
God for evermore without end, knowing that he should die,
and haue an ende. For the vnderstanding of this text of Da-
uid, it is necessarie to expounde that of Christe, which saith,
Ibunt in supplicium, boni autem in vitam eternam: because the one
authoritie being expounded, the other is easely vnderstan-
ded. Christ being as he is, the whole truth and the summe of
Iustice, it seemeth a thing disproportioned to giue vnto the
god, infinite glorie for temporall merites, and to giue vnto
the euill eternall paine, for temporall faultes: Since he com-
meth in the Apocalips, that by the weight of their detme-
rites the wicked should be tormented. If it were not diuine
iudgement, it wold seeme in the opinion of man, to be a iust
thing they should giue vnto the iust that serued God an hun-
dred yeares in this worlde, so muche more of glorie in the o-
ther worlde: and to the wicked that offended fiftie yeares, be-
ing alieue here in this worlde, they should torment him as many
more in hell: In such sort that there the payne should be gi-
uen by weight, and the glorie by measure. In that God gi-
neth not temporall reward, for temporall service, neither doth
giue temporall payne for temporall offences: there seemeth
and ought to be in this case some high misterie, which if it be
facile to demaunde, is verie difficile to absolue. For the vnder-
standing hereof, it is to wit, that the paine they haue to
giue vs in the other worlde, and the rewards we shall receiue
in the glorie, is not answerable to the many or fewe workes
which we do, but vnto the much or little charitie wherewith
we worke thess: for God dothe not beholde what we doe
presently, but what we would do. It may be that a man may
deserue

deserue much with little woꝝkes : and another merite little passing many trauels, foꝛ our desertes consist not in the trauels we do passe, but in the patience we vse therein.

Not without a high and very notable misterie Christ sayd (in your patience,) and said not (in your labour) you shall possesse your soules. Foꝛ as Austine sayth, the paine makes not the Martyr, but the cause wherefoꝛe he suffereth. Answering to your demaund and to my dout, I do say and affirme : that foꝛ this cause, in the other woꝛld they shall giue eternall reward vnto the good : foꝛ if God should let them liue foꝛ ever and ever, they would neuer cease to serue God. In like manner they shall giue vnto the wicked infinite paine, their sinnes being infinite, foꝛ if God foꝛ ever moze should giue them life here in this woꝛld, they would neuer cease to offend him. The Prophet to say, *inclinaui cor meum in aeternum*, is as if he should say, I wolde do bind my selfe to serue thee, so muche as shall please thee to be serued of me. In that if it shall please thee to perpetuat my life, it shall be always imployed in thy seruice, what wilt thou that I say moze, (oh my God,) but if it shall please thee, and may be to thy seruice, that my dayes be temporaryall, that at the least my good desires may be infinite, *quia in aeternum inclinaui cor meum*. Wh with how greate desire ought we to serue God, and how great hope ought we to haue of our saluation, foꝛ that we haue a Lord of so good condition, and a God of suche power, that without any scruple we maye set downe in his accompt, not only what we doe, but also what we desire to do. No moze but that our Lord be your protectoꝛ. From Medina del rio secco the xxij. of January. 1523.

Not in your labour but in patience.
Not the paine but the cause maketh the martyr.

A letter vnto the Abbot of saint Peter of Cardenia, in which he much prayseth the mountaine countrey.

uerent Abbot and monasticall Religious, *Regi seculorum immortalis gloria, quia te ex litteris tuis bene valere audio, & ipse bene habeo.* The health of the body at all times ought to be much esteemed, & muche moze in this present

P. V.

sent

sent yeare; for we haue warre within the house, and pestilence is calling at doore. I haue not sayd much in saying that the pestilence calleth at the doore, since Auila is infected, Madrigal depopulate, Medina scandalized, Valiodolid in great feare, and Duennas mourning.

I poudred
crane sent fro
Asia to Rome

Plato offend-
ed with Di-
onysius for
eating twice
on the day.

As touching the rest I giue your fatherhood many thanks for Ochams Dialogues that you lent me, And I giue you no lesse for your poudred meat you sent me, and as I was borne in the Aquaries of Sintillana, and not in the coasts of Cordoua, you coulde haue sent me nothing more acceptable than that salt flesh; in suche sorte, *quod cognouisti cogitationes meas de longe*. From Asia vnto Rome, the sayde Cleopatra sent vnto hir good friend Marcus Antonius a poudred Crane, whiche he so esteemed, that he eat euery day onely one morsell of that poudred meate. From Illiria (in the Confinnes of Panonia) they brought presented vnto the Emperour Augustus fire salted Lampreys, whiche meate was so newe a thing in Rome, that he onely ate but one, and deuided the other fise amongst the Senators and Embassadors. Macrobius in his Saturnals recounting, or to say better, reprehending Lucullus the Romane of a solempne and costly supper that he made to certaine Embassadors of Asia, he sayth amongst other things they did eate, a Gripe in potage, and a Gose in pickle. In a certain inuectiue that Crispus Salust maketh againste his aduersarie Cicero, amongst the most graue thinges that he dothe accuse him, is, that he caused to be broughte to satisfie his wanton excesse, poudred meates from Sardinia, and wines from Spaine. The diuine Plato when he went to see Dionysius the tyzant, was not of any thing in him so much offended, as he was to see him eate two times a day, and to drinke the better he did eate salt flesh. There past much time in Rome, in which although they did eate fleshe newly poudred, they not yet know to make a bzine. But as times goe euery day discovering more thinges, & the industry of mā goeth more sharpened, it is come to passe y the pickle, bzine, & poudred meats y was found out most delicate for kings; at this present the rustical be gluttet withal.

For

For better seasoned and also moze swete & delectable I hold the poudred meats of the mountaine, than those of Castile: for in y^e mountains herbs be moze delicate, y^e waters moze pure, the countrey moze cold, the beaſts moze ſound, and the ayre moze ſubſtill. What the mountaine is a better countrey than Caſtile, it appeareth moſt cleare, in that the wines that goeth from hence thither be moze ſine, and the men that cometh from thence hyther be conuerted moze malicious, in ſuche wiſe, that wines be there made better, and here men made worſe.

I like very well of that Iames Lopes of Haro was wont to ſay, that for one to proue a perfect man, he ought to be bozne in the mountaine, and transferred into Caſtile: but I am ſorry that vnto my countrey men there cleaueth ſeſe curteſies and leſſe good manners that we haue there, and very much malice that we vſe here. When we demaunde of a neighbour of the confines of Cordoua, of Zocodouer, of Toledo, of Valiodolid, or of Segouia, in what countrey he was bozne, incontinent he aſſureth (it is true) that he was bozne in that countrey, but bys grandfather came from the mountaine, in ſuch wiſe that at y^e inſtant they wil be Caſtilians, & in linage they wil be Biſcains.

If Roger of Toledo do not deceiue vs, ſeuen ſtations had the dominion of nine prouinces of Spaine, which is to wit, the Greekes of Carpentania, the Vandales of Andolofia, the Zuitſers of Carthagene, the Alaians of Galifia, the Hunes of Arragonia, the Gothes of Lucitania, and the Romanes of Pirenea. But of all the nine ſtations we reade of none that did paſſe the rocke of Ordunia, neither durſt approach the rocke of Horadaida. To vs that be Montanezes the Caſtilians cannot denie, that when Spaine was ſurpriſed by the Moores, the greateſt & chiefeſt men were not ſaned only in the mountaines, and that afterwards all the nobles haue not diſcended from thence. The good Inigo Lopes of Santillana did vſe to ſaye, that in this our Spaine that linage was a ſtranger or very new, y^e in y^e mountaines was not poſſeſſed of ſome notable Spanno. Father Abbot I thought good to ſaye all this, to the ende you ſhall ſee how

Seuen nations inhabited Spaine.

how much I do esteeme that which you sent me: the one, for that it was poudered, and the other for that it was seasoned in my countrey. It is no noueltie that the poudered meates of my countrey do like me well, since the Emperour Senerus dyd neuer weare shirt but of the flax of *Africa* which was his naturall countrey.

✕ Of Aurelius the Emperour, his chronickers do recount that he saide many times, that all meates that we eate of other countries, we eate them with appetite, but those that be of our owne countrey we eate them with loue and also wyth appetite. As concerning the rest that youre Fatherhood dyd wyte and incommend vnto me, frier Benet your subiect and my friend, may say what I did speake therein vnto his Apostellie, and what he aunswered me, whiche presently was dispatched. No more, but that the grace *Dei nostri Iesu Christi sit tecum & mecum*. From Madrid, the twelfth day of March, Anno Domini. 1522.

A letter vnto Doctor Manso, present of Valiodolid, in which is declared, that in the affaires of an other, a man may be importunate.



Ight magnificent and most reuerent Imperiall Iudge, *quanto timore ad vos scribam, nouit ipse quem timemus in vobis*, with much feare and no smal shame, I wyte this letter vnto your Lordship, because euery day I haue bene with my letters so importunate, that I deserue to be holden importune and tedious. Belæue me sir, that it is a

straunge thing vnto me to goe to importune, or yet to be importuned: for the man that is importune, I holde him for the brother of a foole. The suter that is patient, silent, and manerly, we take pleasure to heare him, answer him, and dispatche him: on the other side, to him that is troublesome, ouersharpe,

inter.

The importunat and the foole are brothers children

entremedling, and importunate, we shut the doores against him, we cut off his taile, we turne away our face, and also we giue him betwixt the teeth (you are come in an euill houre.)

Cicero in his booke of Friendship, sayth, that in the affaires that toucheth but our selues, we ought only to make sute, but for such as concerne our neare friends, we ought to intreate, and may be importune. In following suites, there is much to be considered: what the suter is, to whome he maketh sute, and wherefoze he maketh sute, and also in what time he sueth: bycause to dispatch a thing out of time, is to cut the pe-
cocke by the hines. There are affaires of suche qualitie, that only to speake in them were shamefull, and yet if they bee procured for others, it is great charitie. The thing that Alexander the great most praysed in the great philosopher Calistenes, was, that for others he craved many things, and for him selfe nothing. Iulius Cesar and Cicero were most fall enemies, but in the ende, on a certaine day in the Senate, Iulius Cesar sayd vnto Cicero, I cannot denie this (O Cicero), but that in the thinges that touche thy selfe, thou art remisse, and in matters that concerne the common wealth, very importune.

There was a Law amongst the Romaines much vsed and also obserued, that vpon paine of death none shoulde presume to appoach the tent, where the Emperour did eate and sleepe, except such as did serue him by day and guard him by night, but the case was thus. The Emperour Aurelius being in warres in Asia against Cenobia, in the night a certaine Greeke seruitor entred the Emperours tent, whiche being taken and presently condemned to die, the Emperour Aurelius from his bed where he lay spake with a loude voyce, if this man dyd come to sue for any thing for himselfe, let him die: and if he came to sue for another, let him liue, and so certaine it was found, that the poore man came to make sute for his three companions that had slepte being of the watch, whiche the Captaine commaunded to be whipt and to be deliuered to the enemies. Wherexample to be noted, and to memorie to be incommended, for that out of one selfe chance and misfortune, the

A notable example of a pitifull Prince.

the soldour obtayned life, the companions escaped dishonour
and shame, and the good Prince enjoyed the renoume of cle-
mencie. I thought good to alledge these old examples, to ad-
uise such as you that be supreme Judges, and constituted in
high estates, to the ende that if you will not doe all that we
crave, at the least you will not chide vs when we be suters
vnto you: bycause, that bond that holdeth the Judge to be iust
in that he iudgeth, the very same doth bind the god to be im-
portune when he sueth for another. The office of the god mā
is to pray and be importunate, not only for the god, but also
for the euill: it is to wit, for the god that they maye be made
better, and for the euill that they pardon them. Since there
is no lawe in this worlde so rigozous, that in god or in euill
part may not be interpreted, the Judges haue to presuppose
we do not desire them to breake their lawes, but that they do
but moderate them: for many times the suter doth complaine,
not of the sentence of condemnation, but of the desire that the
iudge did shew to condemne him. In the iudge it is not onely
a vice intolerable to condescend to all that which they craue,
but also a great extremitie to doe nothing of that they desire:
the good Judge ought to be alwayes iust in that he giueth sen-
tence, and in that they desire him sometime humaine. When
the Consull Ascanius did boast himselfe that in the office of
Censor or iudge, he had neuer admittred, either so muche as
heard the requests of his friends. The good Censor Cato sayd
vnto him on a certain day in the Senat, the offence standeth
not (oh Ascanius) in that the Judge suffreth himselfe to be sued
vnto, but to consent himselfe of any man to be commaunded.
Not of few, but of many Judges we maye iustly saye, that
which they do not at the intreatance of a gentleman, they doe
after wards by the Counsell of their priuat friend. I do lie if I
did not intreat a Judges wife to cause him to consider of a plee
of a friend of mine, whiche answered me, Intreat: what
think not spasser Gueuara, that my husband hath a wife that
must intreat, but commaund: And so it came to passe (as she
said) for that which could not be obtained in halfe a yere, she
dispat.

In answer of
Cato to As-
canius.

dispatched in one night. In the booke of common wealth, Plutarck doth aduise Traiane, that since in humane lawes there be moze things arbitrable than forceable, he should aduise his Judges, to approach moze vnto reason than opinion. The vnbeyolled Judges that naturally be seuerer and vnractable, it is impossible but that they must be odious vnto all men, and for this cause I thinke it very mete, that one by one they should beare all men with curtesie, and afterwards determine what they shall finde by Justice. Many Justices do holde it for aduancement of honour to beare their suters with an euill will, and not to doe anye thing wherein they be intreated: which they do not, because they be iust in their offices, but for that of their nature they be euill condicioned.

The good Judge ought not to wrest the lawes to his conuiction, but wrest his condicion conforable vnto the lawes: for otherwise it should not be expedient to seeke iust Judges, but men well conditioned: but in somuche as God was intreated of those of Ninuie that were condemned, of Ezechias that was anoynted, of Dauid that offended in adultery, of Achab that committed Idolatry, of Iosua that did not overcome, of Anna that was barraine, and of Susan that falsely was accused: surely it is not much that men do suffer them selues to be intreated of other men. I thought good my Lord president to write all these things, not to teach you them, but to remember you of them. The Abbot of saint Ildro is of my acquaintance and great friend, for we were brought by in pallace together, and were fellowes of one Colledge, in such wise that we be byetherne, not in armes, but in letters: and now of late there hath bin processe against him to appeare in this your audience, for which he would present him selfe before your presence, and in his way take a letter of mine, by which I do much desire your Lordship that the Father Abbot and his Monks: *Sentiant si placeat, quod non sit amor ociosus, sine vester ad nos, sine nostrum ad illos, salua tamen in omnibus iusticia, contra quam neque patrem respicere fas est.* From Toledo the xx of August, 1532.

The good Judge wresteth his condicion agreeable to good lawes.

An example for men to be intreated of other men.

A letter

A letter vnto the Earle of Beneuent sir Alonso Pimentell,
wherein is intreated the order and rule holden by the
auncient Knights of the band.

Right renowned, and greatest Earle of Spaine,
most acceptable to my hart was the letter you
did write vnto me (by the Commendathor A-
quilera) bycause there was not in these King-
domes, Lozde nor Prelate, that had not writ-
ten vnto me, and to whome I had not writte
again, (except your honour, & my Lozde the Earle of Cabra,)
but since we haue passed the port, and that the gulse is nau-
gable, the way tracked, and I come to your acquaintance:
knowing the sinceritie of your blood, the generositie of your
persone, the authoritie of your house, and the fame of your re-
nowme: I will not leane from hence forthward to request you,
neither will I be negligent to write vnto you. With some
Lozds and gentlemen I hold acquaintance, with others kin-
red and affinitie, with others friendship, with others coner-
sation: but to other some I refuse communication, and syle
their condition: for in wit they be doltshe, and in their com-
munication very tedious. It is moze painefull to suffer a tebi-
ous Lozde or Gentleman, than a foolish ploughman: for the in-
considerate Gentleman will make you rage, and the doltshe
ploughman prouokes you to laugh: and farther (and besides
this) the one you may commaunde to holde his peace, and the
other you must suffer untill he haue made an end: but your
Lozship is of so good iustice, and come of so right a Turquois,
and so delicate of iudgement, that there may be no place in
my conceit, but that from hence forthward I wil boast my selfe
of your conuersation, and toy my selfe of your condition. Your
Lozship dothe commaunde me to write vnto you (if I haue
read in any auncient writing) who were the knights of the
Band in Spaine. Also you woulde vnderstande, in the time of
what prince this order was established, who was the inuen-
tour thereof, why he deuised the same, what rules he gaue
them

I sugred
speech.

them to liue with, how long it lasted and wherefore it was lost: although I were some suspicious witnesse, and your Lordship were iudge Ronquillo, you could not take my deposition by interrogatories more delicatly. I sweare by the law of a good man, that if mine answer be so accomplished, as your demaund is erquisit, your honour shall be satisfied, and I not a litle tired. After I did see the stately buildings that you haue made at Valiodolid I did more boast you for a good builder than for a curious reader, and therefore I do much delight in that you demaund and write vnto me, for that to the good knight it is as pertinent to haue a booke vnder his pillow, as a sword at his beds head.

I commendable eloquence.

The greete Iulius Caesar, in the mids of his campes, had his Commentaries in his bosome, his launce in his left hand, and his pen in the right hand: in such wise, that all the time that was free from fighting, he spent in reading and writing. The great Alexander, that onely with feare did subdue the West, and with armes did conquere the East, he was alwayes girt with Achilles sword, and with the Iliades of Homer did alwayes sleepe in his Chamber. It is not my opinion that you should take writing and reading for your principall office (as I that am bound to studie) but the tenth houre you spende in talke and lose in play, you should employ and spend in reading. But coming to the purpose, it is to witte, that in the yere M.CCC.lxviij. the King Sir Alonso being in the Citie of Burgos, that was the sonne of King Sir Hernando, and of the Quene the Lady Constance: This good King made a certaine new order of Knighthood, which he entituled the Order of the band, wherein he himselfe with his childzen, bys byetherne, and the sonnes of the most riche and noble knightes of the realme did enter. Four yeaeres after he had ordayned this order of the band, the King Sir Alonso being in Palencia, reformed the rules which he had made, and also added punishments for the transgressors of the same: in such wise, that agreeable to the last rule, which was the better and more knightlike, I will write this letter vnto your Honor: They were named

Notes of Iulius Caesar, & of Alexander the great.



The order of
the knights of
the band in
Spayne in
time past.

Knights of the bande, because they dyd weare vpon them a certayne redde skarffe thre fingers broade, after the manner of a shoale, cast vpon the left shoulder, and knit vnder the right arme. None coulde gine the bande but onely the King, eyther any myghte reseyue the same, except he were the sonne of a Knight, or the son of some notable Gentleman, & that at the least had bene resident at the Court ten yeres or in the warres against the Moores had serued the King.

In this order of the bande, the eldest sonnes of Knights that were inheritours coulde not enter, but suche as were second or thirde sonnes, and that had no patrimonie, for the intention of the good King (Sir Alonso) was, to honour the sonnes of the worshipfull of his Courte, that coulde doe and had but little. That daye whiche they receyued the band, they dyd present into the Kings bande faithe and homage to obserue the rule, and I saye they made not any straye bow, or rigorous othe, because if afterwardes any shoulde transgresse some parte of the rule, they shoulde bee subiecte to the chastisement, but not bounde to the sinne.

Knight notable rule.

His firste rule commaunded, that the Knight of the bande was bounde to speake vnto the King (being required) for the aduancemente of his Countrey, and for the defence of the Common wealth, vpon payne that being noted thereof, he shoulde be depriued of his patrimonie, and banished out of his countrey.

His rule commaunded, that the Knight of the bande about all thinges shoulde speake trouth vnto the King, vnto bys Crowne and person shoulde obserue fidelitie: And if anye in bys presence shoulde murmure of the King, and he shoulde not discouer it, and being approued with infamie, he shoulde bee turned oute of Courte, and for euermore depriued of the bande.

His rule commaunded, that all those of that order shoulde vse muche silence, and that whiche they spake, shoulde be of great trouth: and if by chaunce any knight of the bande shoulde tell any notable lie, he shoulde go one month without his sword.

4. His

4 His rule commaunded, that they shoulde accompanie themselves with wise men, of whome they myght learne to lye well, and with men of warre that might teach them to fight, vpon paine that the knight of the band which should suffer himselfe to be accompanied, or be sene to walke with marchants, men of occupations, Lawyers, or with men of the countrey, shoulde be grievously reprehended of the master: and one whole moneth in his chamber imprisoned.

5 His rule commaunded, that all the knights of this order should maynteyne their wordes, and keepe fidelitie vnto their friendes, and in case it were proued agaynst any knight of the bande, that he had not accomplished his word (although it were given vnto a base person, and vpon a small matter, yet) suche a one shoulde goe alone in courts and vnaccompanied, not presuming to speake, or to appoche or keepe companie with any knight.

A necessary
rule for these
our dayes.

X

6 His rule commanded, that the knight of the band should be bounde to haue good armour in his chamber, good horses in his stable, a good launce at his gate, and a good sword at his girdle: vpon paine that if in any of these things he were defective, they shoulde call him (in Court) by the space of a moneth, seruant, and should lose the name of knight.

X

7 His rule did command, that no knight of the band should presume to ryde to the Court on a mule, but on horsebacke, eyther openly should dare to goe withoute his bande, eyther should take vpon him to go to Court without his sword, or venture at his lodging to eate alone: vpon pain to pay a mark of Silver towards the iustes.

8 His rule commaunded, that no knight of the band should be serued with a lyer, eyther boast himself like a babler, vpon paine yf any of the shuld put himself in palace to tel newes or tales, or to make to the king any false report, he should goe to court one month on foot, & arrest an other into his chamber.

9 His rule commaunded that no knight of the band should complain of any wound that he had receyued, eyther shoulde boast himself of any deed he had don, vpon paine if he to repo-

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ted

ted of his losse, or shoulde relate many tymes of his pines, he shoulde of the maister be grauously reprobended, and of the other knightes of the band not visited.

10 His rule commaunded, that no knight of the band shuld presume to play at any playe, (in especiall at the dice) vpon paine, that if any did play, eyther in his lodging did consent to play, they shoulde take away his moneths wages, and for sixe weekes banished him the Courte.

11 His rule commaunded, that no knight of the band shuld presume to lay his armour to guage, eyther to play the apparell pertyning to his person at any play that might be deuised, vpon paine that he that shoulde play them away, or laye them to guage, shoulde go two moneths without the band, and another month remaine prisoner in his lodging.

A rule for ma-
iestie of ap-
parell.



12 His rule commaunded, that the knight of the bande in the weeke dayes shoulde be apparelled in fine cloth, and on the holy dayes he shoulde weare some kynd of sike, and at Easter some little of golde, and he that shoulde haue nether stockes, and weare buskins, the maister shoulde be bound to take them away, and to make an almes of them to the poore.

13 His rule commaunded that if the knight of the band wolde to the Palace, or walke to the Court on fote, that he shoulde not goe in great haste, eyther speake with loude voyce, but that he shoulde talke with lowe voyce, and walke at greates leysure, vpon payne that of the other knightes he shoulde be reprobended, and of the maister chastised.

14 His rule commaunded, that no knight of the band shuld presume either in ieste or in carnesse, to speake to an other knight any malicious or suspicious wordes, wherof the other knight might remaine shamed or dispised, vpon paine he shuld aske pardon of the iuried, whiche shoulde giue the offender banishment from the court for three monethes.

15 His rule commaunded, that no knight of the band shuld take any quarrell wyth any damsel vnmarried, eyther shoulde laye anye lawe to a woman that were the daughter of a Gentle

A Gentleman, vpon paine that any suche knight might not accompany any Gentlewoman in towri, eyther dare to serue any dame in pallace.

16 His rule commaunded, that if any knight of the band should encounter in the streete with any Lady or Gentlewoman that should be generous & of valor, he should be bounde to bring himselfe on foote, and to accompany hir, vpon paine to lose a monethes wages, and shoulde be of the dames not beloued.

A rule for
rection of
curtesie and
good maner.

17 His rule commaunded, that if any noble woman or damsell in hir haire, should desire any knight of the band to do any thing for hir which he coulde do, and shoulde refuse to doe it, that suche a one in Palace the Dames should call: The curle commaunded knight, and boyd of curtesie.

18 His rule commaunded, that no knight of the band should dare to eat any vile or grosse meates: which is to wit, Onions, Carlikes, Chibols, nor such like, vpon paine that he that were such a one, should not that weeke enter into the Courte, either sit at the table of a gentleman.

19 His rule commaunded, that no knight of the band should presume to stand at his meate, eate alone, eyther to eate without napkins: but that they should eate sitting, accompanied, and the cloath spread, vpon paine that the knight which should not do so, should eate one month without his sword, and pay a marke of silver for the tilt.

20 His rule commaunded, that no knight of the band should drinke wine in a vessell of earth, either shoulde drinke water in a picher, and at the tyme of drinking he shoulde blesse himselfe with his hande, and not with the pottle, vpon paine, that the knight whiche should doe the contrarie should be a moneth banished from the Court, and an other month drinke no wine.

21 His rule commaunded, that if two knights of the band should quarell, and besiege each other, the other knights shoulde trauele to bring them agreed, and if they would not be friends, that no man should helpe them, vpon paine, that if any did co-

trarie,

trarie,

trarie, he should goe one moneth without his hand, and paye a marke of silver to the Justes.

22 His rule commaunded, that if any did weare the bande without gift from the king, two knights of the band should besiege him, & if they did overcome him, he might not weare the bande, but if he overcame them, he might from thence forward weare the bande, & name himselfe knight of the bande.

Rules for the
observing of
peace.

23 His rule commaunded, that when in court they should exercise Justes and Turneys, the knights that should win the prize at the iustes and turneys, should also win the bande (although before he were none of the knights of the band) which the king presently there would give, and all the knights of the order into their companie should receyue.

Rules for the
observing of
peace.

24 His rule commaunded, that if any knight of the bande should lay hand upon his sworde against any other knight of his companie, that in such a case he should not appeare before the king in two moneths, and that he should weare but halfe his band other two moneths.

25 His rule commaunded, that if any knight of the bande should give a sworde to an other knight of the bande upon any anger or quarell, that he should not enter in court one whole yeare, the half of which time he should be prisoner.

26 His rule commaunded, that if any knight of the bande were made a Justice by the king, either in the court, or out of the same, that he might not do Justice upon any of the knights of the bande, but that in taking him in anye thyng not well done, he might only take him, and afterwards remit the same unto the king.

27 His rule commaunded, that the king going on warfare, that all the knights of the band should attend upon him, and being in campe, they should all ioyne under one standard, and ioyntly should fight together: upon paine, that that knyghte whiche in the warres should fight without his standard, and ioyne to an other strange knight, should lose his yeares wages, and an other yeare should go with halfe his band.

28 His rule commaunded, that no knight of the band should presume

presume to go to the warres (except it be against the Moores) and that if in any other warre he should be founde with the kynge, that for the present he take away the band, and that if he should fight in the fauour of any other than the king, he should lose the bande.

29 His rule commanded, that al the knights of the band should assemble thre times in the yere where the king should commaund: and these assemblies should be to make misther of their armes, and to talk in things of their order: and these were in April, September, and Christmasse.

Rules for the exercise of armes.

30 His rule commanded, that all the knightes of the bande should at least turney two times in the yere, and iust four, & to practise the play at the canes six times, and vse the carrere every weke: vpon paine, that that knight which was found negligent to liue in these warlyke exercises, and should be unreadie in exercising of them, he should go one moneth without his bande, and an other without his sword.

31 His rule commanded, that al the knights of the band should be bound within eight days after the king should come to any place, to set vp a tilt to iust, and letter for turney, and more than this, they should haue a Maister, where to schole and skirmishe, and to play at rapier and dagger: vpon paine that he that should be negligent herein, should be arrested in his lodging, and they should take away halfe his bande.

32 His rule commanded, that no knight of the band should be in the Court without seruing some dame, not to dishonour hir, but to feast hir, or else to marrie with hir, and when she shall walk abroad to accompanie hir, as she shall like, on foote, or on horsebacke, vsing reuerence with his cappe, and curtesie with the knee.

33 His rule commanded, that if any knight of the band did vnderstande, that within the compasse of thre myles of the Courte there should be made any Iustes or Turneys, he was bounde to go thither to iust and turney: vpon paine to goe one moneth without his sword, and as much without his bande.

34 His rule commaunded, that if any knight of the bande shoulde be married within thre score miles compasse of the Court, al the other knights of the band shoulde go with him to the king, to craue for him some reward, and that afterwards they shoulde accompany him to the place of his marriage, to the end that there they shoulde do some honozable exercise of chivalrie and knightwod, & to the end they shoulde offer some iewell vnto his spouse.

35 His rule commaunded, that on the first sonday of enery moneth, the knights of the band shoulde go to Court together, very well appointed & armed, and that there in the Court, or in the great hall in the presence of the king and al his Court, they shoulde play at all weapons two and two, in such wise that no hurt were done: for y end that this order was made, was bicause they shoulde rather boast themselves of dedes, than of the names of knights, and were of the kyng therefore much honored.

They shoulde
assayle each o-
ther.

36 His rule commaunded, that they shoulde not torney moze than thirtie with thirtie, and with swordes rebated, and at the sounde of a trumpet they shoulde assayle eche other, and also at the sounde of the Clarion they shoulde all retire, vpon paine not to enter moze in torney, and in one moneth not to go to the Court.

37 His rule commaunded, that at the iustes none shoulde run moze than enery man his foure courses, and shoulde haue for Judges, foure knights, and he that in foure courses byake not a staffe, shoulde pay al the costes of the tilt.

38 His rule commaunded, that at the time that any knight of the band did sayle or die, they shoulde all go to helpe him to die well, and after they shoulde go to his buriall, and for that he had bin brother and companion of the band, they shoulde for one moneth be cladde with blacke, & after for thre moneths forbear to Just.

The noble
minde of the
maker of this
rule is to be
noted.

39 His rule commaunded, that two dayes after the knight of the band shoulde be buried, al the other knights of the order shoulde assemble and go to the king, on the one part to deliner
the

the king the band that the dead had left, and on the other part to make supplication (to haue remembrance) to rayse in hys place some of his able sonnes, if he left anye, and to vse hys bountie towards his wife, to sustaine and marrie hir children and daughters.

Behold here my Lord the rule and order of the knightes of the band, that was made by the king Alfonso: Joyntly wherunto I will adde all the knights that did first enter into thys order, the title of whome said thus.

These are the most Courteouse, the most esteemed, the moste renoumed, the moste chosen knights and Infants of the knightlike order of the Band, that our Lord and king Don Alphonso commaunded to be made, whome God maintayne.

The King Don Alfonso that made
this order.

The infant Don Pedro.	Iuan Esteuanez.
Don Enrique.	Diego Garcia de Toledo.
Don Fernando.	Martin Alfonso de Cordoua.
Don Tello.	Goncalo ruys dela Vega.
Don Iuan el bueno.	Iuan Alfonso de Benauides.
Don Iuan Nunez.	Garci Laso dela Vega.
Enrique Enriquez.	Fernan Garcia Duque.
Alfonso Fernandez Coronel.	Garci Fernandez tello.
Lope Diaz de Almacan.	Pero Goncales de Agueros.
Fernan perez puerco carrero.	Iuan Alfonso de Carriello.
Fernan Perez ponce.	Ynigo Lopez de Horozco.
Carlos de Gueuara.	Garci Gutierrez de Graialba.
Fernan Enriquez.	Gutierre Fernandez de Toledo.
Aluer Garcia Dalbornoz.	Diego Fernandez de Castriello.
Pero Fernandez.	Pero ruyz de Villegas.
Garci Ioffre tenorio.	Alfonso Fernandez Alcayde.

O.v. Ruy

Ruy Goncales de Castaneda.	Diego Peres Sarmiento.
Ruy ramirez de Guzman.	Mendorodrigues de Viezma.
Sancho Martiuez de Leyua.	Iuan Fernandes Coronel.
Iuan Goncales de Bacan.	Iuan de Cereiuela.
Pero Trillo.	Iuan Rodriguez de Cisneros.
Suero Perez de Quinones.	Oreion de Liebana.
Goncalo Meria.	Iuan Fernandez del Gadillo.
Fernan Carriello.	Gomez Capiello.
Iuan de Roias.	Beltran de Gueuara vnico.
Ptralvarez Oforio.	Iuan Tenorio.
Pero Lobez de Padilla.	Ombrete de Torrellas.
Don Gil de Quintana.	Iuan Fernandez de Bahamon.
Iuan Rodriguez de Villegas.	Alfonso Tenorio.

Things to be
noted.

That which is to be noted in all this letter is, how in order the Gentlemen and Knights went in those days, and how they did exercise them selues in armes, and auanced them selues by deedes of prowes, and that the childezen of good men were in the kings house very well brought vp, and were not suffered to be vitious and go lost. It is also to be noted in this letter, in how little time the world hath made so many changes, it is so swift, vndoing some, and aduancing others out of the dust, bicause fortune neuer dischargeth hir shot but against such as be set aloft. My Lord I say this, for that ther is to be founde in this order of the band, some auncient linages which in those days were noble and famous: all which be not only ended, but (also) altogether forgotten. What houses of Spanozs be there now in Spaine of the Albornoze, of the Tenorios, of the Villegas, of the Trillos, of the Quintanas, of the Biesmas, of the Cereiuelas, of the Bahamondas, of the Coronels, of the Cisneros, of the Graialbas, and of the Horozcos: of all these linages there were Gentlemen and Knights very honozable. In those days, as in the list it doth appeare amongst those that first entred into the order of the band, of al which, at this present there is not found any notable Spanoz, neither so much as the name. There are now in Spaine other Linages, the which

which be Velascos, Manriques, Enriques, Pimenteles, Mendozas, Cordouas, Pachecos, Cunigas, Faiardos, Aguilares, Manueles, Arellanos, Tendillas, Cuevas, Andradas, Fonsecas, Lunas, Villandandos, Caranaiales, Soto maiores, and Benauides.

It is a thing surely to be noted, and no lesse to be marvelled, that none of the linage of all aboue said, is named amongst the knights of the band. All which in these our dayes be illustre, generouse, rich, and much renowned. It is well to be believed that some of these glorious linages were risen in those dayes, and if they were not put amongst the knights of the band, it was not because they wanted granitie, but for that they had not at that tyme such authoritie, and also because (though they had sufficient noblenesse) they wanted riches. Also it is to be thought that of those ancient and forgotten linages there are many at this instant descending and decayed, that be noble and vertuous: which so that we see they have little and may do little, we hold it for better to keepe silence, than to name them. The names of Gentlemen and knights, be they never so glorious in blood, if they have little, and may do little, (let them hold it for reuerence) they will esteeme them but little: and therefore it were very good counsell, that they shoulde rather remaine riche seruantes in their countries, than to come to the Courts of Kings to be poor Gentlemen. For after this manner they shoulde in their countries be honored, that now go in Court discountenanced.

Nota

According to this purpose it came to passe in Rome, that Cicero being so valiant of person, and hauing so great commandement and power in the common wealth, they did beare him great enuie on all sides, and beheld him with querulous malice. Wherefore a certaine Romane magistrate said (as if we should say vnto a frankling of Spaine) tel me Cicero, wherefore wilt thou compare with me in the Senat, since thou knowest & al others do know, that I am descended of glorious Romanes, and thou of rusticall ploughmen? wherevnto Cicero made answer with very good grace, I will confesse it, that

A gracious confession of Cicero.

X
that thou art descended of noble Romane magistrates, and I
proceede from poore ploughmen, but ioyntly with thys thou
canst not denie me, but that all thy linage is ended in thee, and
all mine beginnes in me. Of thys example your Lordship
may gather what difference there is betwixt times, betwixt
linages, and also betwixt persons. Since we knowe, that in
Caius began the Augustus, and in Nero ended the Cæsars. I
would say by that which is saide, that the want of noblenesse
in many gaue an ende to the linages of the knightes of the
band, and the valiantnesse of others, gaue a beginning to o-
ther glorious linages that be now in Spaine: because the hou-
ses of greate Lordes be neuer lost for want of riches, but for
want of persons.

I haue enlarged this letter much more than I promised,
and also more than I presupposed, but I giue it all for well
employed, since I am sure, that if I remaine wearied in
writing thereof, it will not be tedious vnto your Honour to
reade it, because therein are so many and so good things, that
of old Gentlemen they are worthy to be knowen, and of yong
gentlemen necessary to be folloved. From Toledo, the xij. of
December, 1556.

A letter vnto the Constable of Castile sir Ynigo of Va-
lesco, in which is touched that the wife man
ought not to trust his wife with
any secret.



Enoumed and good Constable, Sir
Iames of Mendoza gaue me a letter
from your hono^r written with youre
hand, and sealed with youre seale, I
would to God there were as good or-
der taken with my letters that I an-
swer you, as is here vsed with such as
you send me. For I cannot say, whe-
ther it be my hay, or my mishay, that
scarcely

scarcely I can write you a letter wherof al in your house vnderstand not. As much as it both please me that al men know me to be your friende: so muche both it graue me, when you discouer of me any secret, chiefly in graue and most waigbtie affaires: for comming to the intelligence of youre wife and childzen that you communicat with me your belicat affayres, they will make great complaint if to the profit of their substance I direct not your conscience. My Lady the Duchesse did write vnto me, aduertising to haue some scruple in me, saying: that I was against hir as concerning the house of Toware, which I did neuer speake or thinke: for the office that I do most boast my selfe of, is to direct men that they be noble and vertuous, and not to vnderstand in making or marring of heyres or Spanoz houses.

My Lorde Constable you do know, that at all times when you discouer your selfe, and take counsell of me, I haue alwayes sayd, and do say, that the Gentleman of necessitie must pay that he oweth, and what he hath, deuide at his will: and that to make restitution there needeth a conscience, and to giue or deuide, iudgement and wisdom: if there passe eyther more or lesse betwixt vs two, it is without neede that youre noblenesse should speake it, or of my authoritie be confessed. For the things that naturally be graue, and do require secrecie, if we may not auoyde that they iudge or presume of them, at the least we may cut off, that they knowe them not. In that your Lordship hath let see some wordes, or left some letter of mine, my Lady the Duchesse is not a little offended with me, and I do not maruell thereof, in that she not vnderstanding the misterie of your speech, or the ciphers of my letters, did knowe his counsell, and rayled a quarrell against me: Believe me my Lorde Constable, that neither in iustice, earnest, you ought to put secret things in confidence of women: for to the end that others shall esteeme them more, they will discouer any secret. I hold the husbands for very doltish that hide their money from their wiues, and trust them wth their secrets: for in the money there is no greater losse than the

Nota

the godes, but in discovering their secretes sometimes he loseth his honour. The Consul Quintus Furius discovered al the conspiracie of the tirant Cateline to a Romane woman named Fulvia Torquata, the which manifesting the matter to another friend of hers, and so from hande to hande it was deuulgate thorough all Rome, whereby it happened that Quintus Furius lost his life, and Cateline his life and honour. Of this example your Lordship may gather, that the things that be graue and effectuell, ought not to be committed to the confidence of women, muche lesse spoken in their p[re]sence: for to them it imposseth nothing the knowledge of them, and their husbands it toucheth much, if they be discovered. There is no reason to thinke, either is it iust to p[re]sume and say, that all women are like, for that we see there are many of them honozable, honest, wise, discrete, and also secrete: whereof some haue husbands so foolish and such buzardes, that it shoulde be moze sure to trust them than their husbands. Not offending the gentlewomen that be discrete and secrete, but speaking commonly of all, I saye, that they haue moze abilitie to breede children, than to keepe secrets. As concerning this let it be for conclusion, that it happen you not another day to talke before any man, much lesse before any woman. What whyche we haue commened and agreed betwixt our selues, there might rise thereof that your Lordship might remaine offended, and I disgraced. At this p[re]sent there is nothing moze newe in Court, to write, than that I am not a little offended, of that your Lordship dare discover, & troubled with the wordes of my Lady the Duchesse hath sent me, for which cause I beseeche you as my good Lord, and commaund you as my godsonne, that you reconcile me with my Lady the Duchesse, or commaund me to be forbidden your house. From Valiodolid the eight of August. 1522.

Alet.

A letter vnto the Constable Sir Ynigo of Velasco, wherein
is touched that in the hart of the good Knight, there
ought not to raigne passion or anger.



Enoumed Lord, and pitifull Constable, I may saue by your honour, that
whiche God saide by the Sinagog,
which is to wit: *Curauimus Babiloniam,*
et non est curata, relinquantus illam; which
is to say: we haue cured Babilon, and
it woulde not be cured, let vs abandon
it. Sir I say thus muche, for that
it hath happened not a little gracions
vnto me, that whereas I craned in my letter that my Lady
the Duchesse should not see any one part thereof, notwithstanding
that you haue not only shewed it, and conferred thereon with
hir, but also had great game thereat. Whereupon in the way
of reuenge, I shewed youre letter vnto the Earle of Nassaro,
who with Flemings, Portugallies, Almaines, and Spaniards, dyd
also take some pastime therewith, yet was it my very good
lucke that all the euill that I saide of women in your letter,
my Lady the Duchesse converted into iest, in such wise that
with greates reason I may praise hir for hir wisdome, and
complaine me of your temeritie.

My Lord Constable, I shall most hartely desire you not to
haue such care to make proues of triacle with my letters, but
to reade them, and to teare or else burne them: for it may hap-
pen that some day you might reade them befoze some not be-
comely wise, either yet of good condition, that might deuine to my
hurt, that in which they vnderstand not, to their owne profit.
Leaving this a part, your Lordship saith, & for my sake you
haue remitted the displeasure you did beare against a Gentle-
man, the which I accept for to great content, and grace, as
if vnto my selfe & iniurie had bin pardoned: for I am so tender
ouer him that is my here friend, that al which I see to be done
in the behalte of his person, & to the amendment of his estate,
I set

I set it downe in mine own account. Besides the accomplishment of my desire, your Lordship hath performed that which you were bound to doe: for Princes and great Lordes haue no licence to doe iniuries, eyther so muche as to reuenge them. For as you know, that whiche is in the meaner called wrath, in the mightie is named pride: and that which amongst the smaller sort is chastisement, in the mightie is termed vengeance. As oft as you shall make coniugation with your noblenesse and conscience, and shall call to remembrance that you be a Christian and a Knight, it shall not mislike you of the offences you haue dissimuled, and it shall grieue you of the iniuries you haue reuenged. The pardoning of iniuries giveth great contentation to the hart, and the desire of reuengement is no small torment thereof. By that whiche is said, I woulde saye, that sometimes for some man to reuenge some little iniurie, he escapeth from thence much moze iniured. There be some iniuries, that onely are not to be reuenged, neither as muche as to be confessed: for things of honour are so delicate, that the same day that any confesseth to haue receyued an iniurie, from that day he bindeth himselfe to take reuengement.

The Consull Mamilius demanded at a certaine time of Iulius Caesar, wherein it was that he had in this worlde most boaine glory, and in the remembryng thereof did take most pleasure: to this the good Caesar made answer, by the Goddes immortall I sweare vnto thee (O Consull Mamilius) that of nothing in all this life I doe thinke that I deserue so muche glory, or any other thing doth giue me so greate ioy and contentation, as pardoning of those that do offend me, and gratifying such as do serue me. Wh words worthy prayse, and pleasant to heare, notable to reade, and necessary to followe: for if Iulius Caesar did heloue as a Pagan, he did worke as a Christian, but we all heloue as Christians, and worke like Paganes.

I speake it not without a cause that we liue as (Paganes, although we beleue as Christians,) since in this case the max
lice of

*
I notable example to be im
braced.

He of man is growen so great, that many woulde pardon
their enemies, and dare not for feare of their friends: for if
they once perceine them to speake of pardoning any man,
presently they will say, they doe it more of cowardise, than of
conscience. Be it as he may, and let every man speake as he
thinketh good in this case of pardon; your lordship hath done
with that Gentleman like a faithfull Christian, and with me
like a very friend: and beside fidelitie to God, and friendship to
a friend. There is no more to be craved of any man in this
world.

The memoriall that your Lordship sendeth me of 5 things
that toucheth your goods and conscience, I (my Lord) wil con-
sider therof at leysure, and wil answer upon aduiseement, be-
cause in your charges or discharges, in such wise I will giue
you counsel as in my best no scruple shall remaine. In him y
asketh counsell there ought to be diligence and no slackenes,
for that many times businesse lieth so in corners and so farre
from hand, that it shall be more sure counsell to trust to our
weapon, than to stape for that booke shall say: the contrary
whereof is to be vsed of him y shall giue counsel vnto another,
which is to wit, that he haue much wisdom and little dili-
gence: for counsell that is giuen, if it be not vpon aduiseement,
most times bringeth some repentance.

The diuine Plato writing of Orgias the Greeke sayd, My
friend Orgias, thou writest vnto me, that I should counsell thee
how thou shouldest behaue thy selfe in Licaonia, and on the
other parte, thou makest great haste to haue an answer:
which thing although thou dost rashly craue, I dare not per-
forme; for that I doe much more studie to counsel my friends,
than to read in scholes to Philosophers: the counsell that is
giuen or taken, ought to be giuen by a man that is wise, for y
god iudgement he hath, a learned man for the much that he
hath read, an auncient man for that he hath scene, a patient
man for that of him selfe he hath suffered, a man without pas-
sion because malice shall not blind him, a man without inter-
est, for that couetousnesse shall not let him: Finally, I saye,

I. J.

that

Wastie coun-
sell breedeth
repentance.

Worthy to be
admitted a
counsellour.

that the shamefast man and of a noble minde, oughte to giue vnto his friendes money with liberalitie, and counsell with greate grauntie.

If it be true (as it is moſte certayne) that he oughte to haue all theſe conditions that ſhoulde giue counsell vnto another, we dare wel ſay, that to giue counsell is an office ſo common, that many uſe it, and very few can perſorme it. There cometh a carefull man to aſke counsell of his friende (in giuing whiche counsell the one way or the other, there goeth lyfe, honour, goodes, and alſo conſcience) and then his friende whoſe counsell he hath craued, without remouing or further thinking therof, voyde of all ſcruple or doubt, ſayeth what is to be done in that caſe (as though he had founde it witten in the holy Scripture.)

All this I ſay vnto youre Lordſhip, becauſe ſometimes you be offended and growe angry, if I anſwere not preſently vnto your letters, and ſend you not your doubtſ declared. As concerning that whiche you write of Marcus Aurelius, the caſe ſtandeth thus: that I tranſlated and preſented it vnto Ceſar not all finiſhed, the whiche Laxao did ſteale from the Emperoure, and the Queene from Laxao, and Tumbas from the Queene, and the Lady Aldonſa from Tumbas, and your lordſhippe from the Lady Aldonſa: in ſuche wiſe that my ſweetes ended in your theſtes. The newes of this Courte is, that the Secretarie Cobos groweth private: the gouernour of Beſa doth keepe ſilence: Laxao doth mutmur and groane: the Admirall doth write: the Duke of Veiar doth heape and keepe: the Marquiſſe of Pliego doth playe: the Marquiſſe of Villa Franca ſolloweth his buſyneſſe: the Earle of Oſorno doth ſerue: the Earle of Siuella doth praye: the Earle of Benda doth ſigh: Gutiere quixada doth iuſt: and the Judge Ronquillo doth whippe.

From Madrid the ſixthe of Ianuarie

1524

Alon

A letter vnto the Constable Sir Ynigo of Velasco, in
which is said, that which the Marques of
Piskara reported of Italy.

Renowned Lord, and cōplayning Constable,
it hath chaunced me with very good grace, that
you neuer wrotte me letter wherin there cō-
meth not some murmuring complaintes, say-
ing: that I haue not answered to all that you
haue wrotten, or that I am very short in wri-
ting, or that I write but now and then, or that I delaye the
messenger, or that I write as one offended: in suche wise that
neither in me is any end of faults, nor in your Lordship any
lacke of complaintes: but if your Lordship will note, and ac-
cuse all the wants of considerations, negligences, slacknesse,
simplicities, and doltishnesse that I haue: I can tell you, that
you shall be wearied, and also tyred, for there is in me many
things to be reprehended, and very few whereto be prai-
sed. That which is in me to be praised is that I esteeme my
selfe to be a Christian, keepe my selfe from doing hurt to any
man, and boast my selfe to be your friend. And that which is
in me to be reprehended is, that I neuer leaue to sinne, neither
euer begin to amend: this it is my Lord that doth bere me,
this it is that setteth me aground, and this is the cause why
that there neuer remaineth in me gladnesse: for as your
Lordship knoweth, matters of honoꝝ and of conscience, gꝛue
great cause to be felt or considered, but not to be discouered.
To write short or at large, to write late or in time, to write
polished or without order, neither is it in the iudgemente of
him that doth indite it, either in the pen that writeth y^e same:
but in the matter that he hath in hande, or in the aptnesse of
time he useth: for if a man be disgraced, he writeth that he
ought not, and if in disposition, he writeth what he listeth.
Homer, Plato, Archines, and Cicero, in their writings neuer
ceasse to complaine, that when they common wealthes
were in quiet and pacified, they studied, read, and wrotte;
but

but when they were altered and buried, they coulde not stand, & much lesse wrought. That which passed by those glorious personages in those days, euery day passeth now in my selfe, for if I be well disposed and in temper, it is offered me by heapes, as much as I would write, and if by chaunce I be disgraced or discompted, I would not so much as to take pen in hand. There be tymes that I haue my iudgement so kindled and so delicate, that (as me thinketh) I coulde sweep one graine of wheate, and cleane a haire in sunder. At another time I haue it so dull and so farre remoued, that I can hardly hit a nagle with a sledge. I knowe not what to write of this Court, but that the Marques of Pescara, is come hither from Italy, which doth recount from thence such & so many things, that if they be worthy to be put in Chronicle, they be not to be written in a letter. He that knoweth the conditions of Italy, will not maruell of the things thereof: for in Italy no man may liue vnder the defence of iustice, but that to haue and to be able, he must be of power or else very priuate. Let him not desire to liue in Italy, that hath not fauour of the king to defend, or power in the field to fight: for in Italy they neuer care to demaunde by Justice, that whiche they may winne by the lance. In Italy they haue not to aske of him that hath an estate or goodes, of tohome he did inherit them, but how he did winne them. In Italy to giue or take away estates or goodes, they seeke not right in the lawes, but in armes. In Italy that leaueth to take any thing, it is: for want of power, and not for want of will. Italy is very pleasant to liue in, and very perillous to be saued. Italy is an enterprize whether many do go, and from whence few do returne. These and many other such like things the Marques of Pescara recounted vnto vs at the table of the Earle of Nassao, (many Lords being present, and some Prelates.) Due thanks vnto God our Lord that hath used you in Spaine, & of Spaine, in Castile, and of Castile in Castile the olde, and of Castile the olde in Burgos, where you are beloued and serued, for that in the other places or townes of Spaine, althogh they be noble & of power, they haue alwayes some controuersies. The memoriall of your Lordship

The conditions
of Italy.

sent

sent me this yeare to consider of, and vpon the same to giue
you counsell, now I sende it you corrected with my consi-
derance, and consulted with my science. No more. &c.

A letter vnto the Constable Sir Ynigo of Velasco, in which is
declared, the prizes of thyngs as in olde tyme they
were wonte to be sold in Castile.

REnowned and curious Constable, I haue re-
ceiued a letter from your Lordshippe, as it ap-
peareth by the same: although you be chief or
heade of the Valascos, and I of the Ladrons of
Guevara, there you haue the date, and here I
haue the name. For entering into my cell, you
haue stolne my Pictures, and ouerturned my Bookes. If
there be a priuiledge of the Constables of Castile, (the reli-
gious being at his prayers, that they shal enter and sacke his
Cell, it were very iust to them wherfoze they did it, or else to
restoze vnto the owner the thing stolne. Your Lordship writ-
teth vnto me, y you wil not restoze the pictures that you haue
take away, except I send you written the auncient ordina-
nces that were made by the king Don Iuan in Toro, in suche
wise, that you doe not content your selfe with stealing, but
that you will also extort and doe violence. I know not which
was greater that day, your fortune or my mischance, in that
my Cell was open: so I swear by the faith of a christian, that
my lance in the sight of God wer much moze worth, if I coulde
use as great circumspection in restraining my thoughts, as I vse
in the keeping of my bookes. Your Lordship sayeth, that the
booke you hapned vpon in my librarie was olde, of an olde
letter, of olde tyme, and of olde thinges, and dyd entreat of
the prizes how all thinges was sold in Castile, in the time that
King Iohn the first did first raigne. I wyl not only wyte
vnto you that which the good king did ordeyn in Toro, but also
the rude and grosse speache wherewith that ordinance was
written, wherof maye be gathered howe there hath bene
changed

changed in Spayne, not onely the maner of selling, but the maner of speaking. That which hath passed in this case is, that the king Sir Iohn the first kept Court in the Citie of Toro, in the yeare. M. CCCC. and. vi. in which he did ordein very particularly, not only how victuals shoulde be sold, but also for what prices the labourer shoulde worke. The title of that ordinance sayth these wordes which followeth, in so olde a kinde of speeche, that the Spanyards themselves craue an interpreter, and is much to be marvelled at, but mooste of all for the prices of thinges, is almoste incredible. Whiche I leaue unwritten, partly to be considered by these wordes that follow, wherewith the Author concludeth his Letter as followeth. This Letter being read, I beleve your Lordshippe will marvel of the good cheape that was in those dayes, and of the dearth that is now of victuals. And I beleve that you will laugh at the rusticall speeche that was then, and of the polished speeche that now is used, although it be true, that the advantage that the haire now in the speeche, they haue then of us in their living.

A Letter wrote Sir Alonso of Fonseca, bishop of Burgos, president of the Indians, wherein is declared, wherfore the Kings of Spayne be intituled Catholike.

Right magnificent and Indian Honorfull, about twenty dayes past they gave me a letter from your honour: and aboue fiftene dayes since I did write an answere of the same, the which no man to this day hath come to aske, neither do I know by whome to send it. Your Lordship doth write that I should aduertise your Honor, what it is that they say here of your Lordship to speake with libertie, and to say you the truth, they say al in this Court, that you are a very good christian, and a very tractable Bishop: also they say, that you are long, proud, negligent, and indefatigable in the affaires that you haue in hand, and withal say that

I please ad-
uertisement.

that follow you, & which is worst of all, that many of them
doe returne to their houses, spent and not dispatched: they
say that your Lordship is fierce, proude, impatient, and sus-
picious, and that many doe leaue their businesse undetermi-
ned, to see themselves by your Lordship so overshadowed. O-
thers say, that you are a man that deales in troth, you speak
truth, and that you are a friend of truth, and that a man ge-
uen to lying was neuer seene to be your friend: also they say
that you are right in that you command, iust in your iudge-
ments, and moderate in your executions, and that whiche is
more than all: that in matters of iustice, and in the deter-
mination thereof, you haue neither passion or affection: they
say that you are of much compassion, pitifull, and an almes
giuer: and that (whiche can not be spoken but to your greate
praise) to many poore and in necessitie, from whom you take
goods by Justice, on the other parte you giue it them oute of
your chamber. Your Lordship hathe not so maruell of that
which I say, neither doe I mislike of that which you doe, by
cause out of the one and the other, there may be gathered, that
no man in this worlde is so perfect, but there is in him to be
amended, eyther any man so euill, that hath not in him to be
prayed. The historie writers do note Homere of vain speach,
Alexander for furious, Iulius Caesar for ambitious, Pompeius
for proude, Demetrius for vicious, Haniball for perjured, Vels-
pasian for conetous, Traiane for a wine bibber, and Marcus Au-
relius for amorous: Amongst men so illustre, glorious, and
herofcall as all these were, it is not much that your Lordship
do pay for a pounce of waxe to be of their fraternitie: And
this pounce is not because you are an euill Christian, but for
that you were of weake patience. There is no vertue more
necessarie in him that governeth a common wealthe than is
patience: for the Judge that is measured in that he speaketh,
and dissembleth the injuries that they doe vnto him, he maye
defende, but not fall. The Prelates and Presidents
that haue charge to gouerne people, and determyne cau-
ses, much more than other menne ought to lye circumspectly,

Notable con-
ditions in a
Judge.

May descend
but not fall,

speaky, and be of moze suffering: for if we of you be iudged, be-
lieue me that of vs also you are beholden, belued and consi-
dered. There is nothing in this worlde moze sure, than he
whiche is feared of many, ought also to feare many: for if I
will be a Judge of your goodes, so the same you will be a be-
liuer of my life: and thereof it cometh to passe that manye
times the Judge is moze damnified in his fame, than the su-
fer in his goodes.

Excellent gra-
ces in a iudge.

My Lord be all this is to be vnderstode of Judges that be
proude, of enill complexion and melancholike: Suche as be
milde, gentle, and suffering, they do not examine the lines they
leade, but also they dissemble the weakenes they commit. He
that hath charge of the common wealth, it is necessary that
he haue a milde condicion, in such wise that when he shall see
weakenes, that he make strong: and where he seeth courage,
that he praise it: and where he seeth want of foresight, that he
prouide: and where he seeth dissolution, that he chastise: and
where he seeth necessitie, to succour: and where he seeth se-
dition, to appease it: and where he seeth consozmittie, to con-
serue it: and where he seeth suspicion, to cleare it: and where
he seeth heavinesse to remedie it: and where he seeth gladnes,
to temper it: for after extreme pleasure and gladnesse, many
times do follow no small distresses. If in your vertuous at-
tempta ye take in hand, there shall happen some successs not
consozmable to youre god desires, and if it shall also chaunce
that you be grieved therewith, impute not all the fault vpon
your selfe: for the man that doth all that he can do, we cannot
say to him, that he doth not that he ought to do, since in blood
I hold you for kinsman, in conuersation for friend, in autho-
ritie for my god Lord, and in deserving for father, I shall not
leane to pray you as a father: and beseeche you as my god
Lord, that you be mild in conuersation, and measured in your
wordes: because of Judges & Lordes as you are, at sometimes
they do moze feele a word, than of another the pull of a lace.
But since in all this kingdome it is notozious that youre
Lordship is honest of your life, and iust in youre tribunall of
iudges.

I. truly per-
suasion.

judgements: I wold not glably beare that those that do praise that which you do, should complaine of that which you say: with a Lorde of so high estate, and with a Iudge of so pre eminent an office, my pen should not haue presumed to write what it hath written, if your Lordship had not commaunded. My Lord I saide it, bycause if this that I haue here written vnto you shall not like you, that it may please you to sende to reuoke the licence that you haue given.

Skilful obsequence.

Also you will that I shall write vnto your Lordship, if I haue founde in anye auncient Chronicle, what is the cause wherefore the Princes of Castile do call themselves not onely Kings, but also Catholique Kings. And that also I write vnto you, who was the first that called himself Catholique King, and what was the reason and the occasion to take this so generous and Catholique title. There were ynowe in this Court of whome you might haue demaunded, and of whome you might haue vnderstood, in yeares moze auncient, in knowledge moze learned, in bookes moze rich, and in writing moze curious than I am. But in the end my Lord be sure of this one thing, that that which I shall write, if it be not written in a polished stile, at the least it shall be all very true: Comming to the purpose, it is to be vnderstood, that the Princes in olde time did alwayes take proude our-names: as Nabugodonozor that did intitule him selfe King of Kings, Alexander the greates the king of the world, the king Demetrius the conqueror of Cities, the great Haniball the tamer of kingdomes, Iulius Caesar the Duke of the Citie, the king Mithridates the restorer of the world, the king Athila the whip of nations, the king Dionisius the host of all men, the king Cyrus the last of the Gods, & king of England defender of the Church, the king of Fraunce & most Christian king, and the king of Spaine the Catholique king. To giue your Lordship a reckoning who were these kings, and the cause why they did take these so proude titles, to me it should be painfull to write, and to your Lordship tedious to reade, it is sufficient that I declare what you commaunde me, without sending what you craue not.

Why & kings of Castile be called Catholiques.

The ouer names of renowned kings.

The yere, the
day, & month
and hour that
Spaine was
lost.

Spaine lost in
eight months,
and hardly re-
covered in
eight hundred
yeares.

Spaine lost in
eight months,
and hardly re-
covered in
eight hundred
yeares.

It is to wit, that in the yere seven hundred fifty five the fift day of the month of July upon a Sunday looking to the river Bedalake, about Xeres on the frontiers, euen at the breake of day was given the last and most vnfortunate battell betwixt the Gothes that were in Spaine, and the Alarues that had come from Africa; in whiche the sorrowfull king Sir Rodrigo was slaine, and all the kingdome of Spaine lost. The Spoye that was Captaine, and that overcame this famous battell was named Musa; which did know so well to follow his victorie, that in the space of eight moneths he did win and had dominion from Xeres in the frontiers, vnto the rocke Horadada, which is neare to the towne of Onnia. And that whiche seemeth to be most terrible is, that the Spoyes did win in eight moneths, which in recovering was almost eight hundred yeres, so that so many yeares did passe from the time that Spaine was lost, vntill Granado was wonne. The fewe Christians that escaped out of Spaine, came retiring vnto the mountaines of Onnia, neare vnto the rocke Horadada, vnto which the Moores did come; but from thence forward they passed not, either did conquer it, for there they found great resistance, and the land very sharp. And when they of Spaine did see that the king Sir Rodrigo was dead, and all the Gothes with hym, and that without Lord or head they could not resist the Moores, they raysed for king a Spanissh Captaine that was named Sir Pelatos, a man venturous in armes, and of all the people very well beloued. The same being spread throughout all Spaine, that the mountaine men of Onia had raised for king the good Sir Pelatus, all men generouse and warlike did repaire vnto him, with whome he did vnto the Moores greate hurt: and had of them glorious triumphes. Thre yeares after they had raysed the good Sir Pelatus for king, he married one of his daughters with one of the sonnes of the Earle of Nauaro, who was named Sir Peter, and his sonne was called Sir Alonso. This Earle Sir Peter descended by right line of the lineage of the blessed king Richardes, in whose tyme the Gothes did leaue the sea of the called Arriu, by the meanes of
the

the glorious and learned Archbishop Leonard. The good King
Pelais being dead, in the eightene yeare of his raigne, the
Castilians exalted for King a sonne of his, that was named Pa-
wla, the which two yeares after he began to raigne, going on
a certaine day to the mountaine, making to feed the Beare,
the Beare killed him. And for that the King Fasil died without children, the Ca-
stilians elected for King, the husband of his sister, which is to
wit, the sonne of the Earle of Nauarrie, who was named Alon-
so, the which began his raigne in the yeare, bit. C. lxxv. his
raigne lasted eightene yeares, which was as much tyme as
his father in law the good King Sir Pelais had raigned. And
this good King was the fift that was named Alonso,
which took his name in so good an houre, that since that daye
amongst all the Kings of Castile that have bin named Alonso,
we reade not of one that hath bin euill, but very good. Of this
good King Alonso the historiographers haue written many lamda-
ble things to recompt, and they to be knownen, should be replac'd
to be followed. The King Sir Alonso was the first that out of
Nauarrie entered Galizia, to make warre vppon the Moores,
with whom he had many encounters and battells: in the
ende he ouercame and drove them out of Astorga, Pousera-
da, Villafranca, Tuy, and Lugo, with all their Countreies and
Cities. This good King Alonso was he that did win of the Moores
the Citie of Leon, and built there a royall place, to the ende
all the Kings of Castile (his successors) should there be resident,
and so it came to passe, that in long tyme after, many Kings of
Castile did live and die in Leon. This good King Alonso was
the first that after the destruction of Spaine began to builde
Churches and to make Monasteries and Hospitallies, in es-
pecialty (from the beginning) the Cathedrall Churches of Lo-
go, Tuy, Astorga, and Ribadeo, the which afterwarde did passe
to Mendocedo. This good King Alonso did builde many and be-
autiful Monasteries of the order of saint Benigne and
of saint Iames, and many particular
Churches

Churches in Nauarne, and in the Countrey of Ebro, whiche he endued all with great riches, and gaue them opulent possessions. This good King Alonso was the first that did seeke, and commaunded to be sought with very great diligence, the holy booke that had escaped the hands of the Moores, and as a zealous Prince commaunded that they shoulde bee caried to the Church of Oiendo to be kept, and gaue great rewarde vnto such as had hid them. This good King Alonso was the first that commaunded that all the greates wyters and singers shoulde resort to Leon, to the end they shoulde wyte great singing booke, and little bzeuiaries to pray on, the which he gaue and deuided amongst all the Monasteries and Churches that he had founded: for the cursed Moores had not left a Church in Spaine that they did not ouerthrow, either booke that they did not burne. This good King Alonso was the first, that did begin to make all the Bishops houses ioyning to the Cathedrall Churches, because the beate in the Summer, either the colde in Winter, should not let them to be resident in the Quier, and to see how they worshipped God.

To the end
cold in winter
neither heats
in summer shoulde
hinder residents.

This good King Alonso the first died in 8 age of. lxxxij. yeres, in the Citie of Leon, in the yere of our Lord. 793. And his death, of the Castilians and Nauarrois was as much bewayled, as of all men his life was desired. How acceptable his life was vnto God, it appeared most cleare, in that the Lord shewed by him at his death: whiche is to wit, that at the point of his last breath, they heard ouer his chamber Angeliike voices sing and say: Beholde how the iust dieth and no man maketh account thereof, his dayes be ended and his soule shall be in rest. The lamentation was so great that was made through out Spaine for the death of this good King Alonso, that from thence forthward every time that any named his name, if he were a man he put off his cap, and if a woman she made a reuerence. Not thre months after the death of the good King Alonso, all the mightie of the Kingdome ioyned in parliament, wher in they did ordeyne and commaund by a publique Edict, that from thence forthward and for evermore, none shoulde presume

presume to say coldly or briefly, the king Alonso, but for his excellencie they should call him the king Alonso the Catholique: for that he had bin a prince so glorious, and of the diuine service so zealous. This good king was some in law of sir Pelaius, he was the third king of Castile, after the destruction thereof: he was the first king of this name Alonso: he was the first that founded Churches in Spaine: he was the first king at whose death such Angelike voyces were heard: he was the first king that was intituled Catholike: by whose desertings and virtues all the kings of Spaine (his successors) be called to this day Catholike Kings.

The first instance of the title Catholike.

My Lorde, it seemeth to me, that since the kings of Spaine presume to inherit the name, they should also presume to follow his life, which is to wit, to make warre vpon the Moores, and to be fathers and defendours of the Church: And so that in the beginning of this letter, I did ble the speech of a friend, and in this I haue accomplished what you craved as a seruāt. I say no more, but that our Lord be your protector, and giue vs all his grace. From Segouia the xij. of May. 1523.

A letter vnto Mosen Rubin of Valentia, being enamoured, wherein is touched the displeasures that the amorous dames giue vnto their louers.



Magnificent and old enamored, being in Madrid the fourth of August, where I receiued a letter of yours, and for that it was soyne, and the firme somewhat blotted, I sweare vnto you by the law of an honest mā, I could not find meanes to read it, or imagine or call to remembrance who should write it. For notwithstanding we were acquainted when I was Inquisitor in Valentia, it is almost a thousand yeares since we saw eche other: after I awakened and called my selfe to remembrance, and did read, and read againe your letter, I fell in the reckoning that it was of Mosen Rubin my neighbour (I say Mosen Rubin the e-

Contrary salutations in respect of his birth and manners.

A sufficient cause to forget olde acquaintance.

name.

Assured notes
of old acquaint-
ance.

enamored) I remember that sometimes we were wont to play
at the chesse in my lodging, and cannot aduise me that you
gaue me the dame, but I do certainly remember, that you did
not suffer me to see your enamored. I remember that at the
rock of Espadon, at the encounter we had with the Moores, I
escaped wounded, and you with a broken head, where we
could neyther finde Chirurgion to cure vs, or as muche as a
clout to bind vs. I remember that in reward for that I can-
sed your bill to be firmed by the Quene, you sent me a Spule
which I did gratifie and not receyue. I remember that when
we went to accompany the French King to Requena, whē we
came to the seven waters, I complayned for want of meate,
and you for lacks of lodging: and in the ende, I receyued you
into my lodging, and you went forth to provide victualles. I
remember when Cæsar commaunded me to repaire vnto To-
ledo, you gaue me a letter to be deliuered vnto the Secretarie
Vrias, vppon a certaine businesse of yours, to whome I dyd
not only speake but also obtained your sute. I remember that
chiding with a Chaplayne of youre wiues in my presence,
when he said vnto you, that it were not conuenient you shuld
deale sowly with him, for that he had charge of soules, & was
a Curat, you made answer, that he was not a Curat of soules
but of soles. I remember that I counselled you and also per-
swaded you, being in Xatina, that you shoulde giue to the Di-
uell the loue that you wot of: and I also doe knowe, bycause
they were tedious, perillous, and costly. I remember that af-
ter in Algezira you reported (weeping and sighing) that you
had no power to chase them from your minde, either rote
them from your hart: and ther I returned to say and sweare,
that it was no loue, eyther pleasant to your persone, or to
your estate conuenient. I remember that after we mette at
Torres, where I demaunded to what conclusion you had fra-
med your loue, you answered in a thousand sorowes and tra-
uelles, for that you had escaped from thence wounded, ab-
horred, belouted, infamed, and also be pilld. Of many other
things, (I remember) I haue both seene and heard you speake
and

and so, in that time that we were neighbours and couersant in Valentia: whercof (although we may talke) they are not so be witten.

In this present letter you aduertise me that now you are enamored and taken with other new loues, and that since I sayd the troth in the first, you pray me to write my opinion in the second, (holding it so certaine, that my skil serueth to let bloud in the right wayne, and also to bind vp the wound.) Sir Mosen Rubin, I woulde you had witten or demaunded some other matter: so speaking the very troth in this matter of loue, you are not in the age to follow it, cyther may it be contained with my ingrauitie to write it: of my habit, of my profession, and of my authoritie and grauitie, you shoulde haue demaunded cases of counsell, and not remedies of loue: so I haue red moze in Hostiensis that instructeth to giue counsell, than in Ouid that teacheth to be enamored. Of a troth master Mosen Rubin I say, that it is neither you or I, that loue dothe like, and with whome she doth delight. For you are now olde, and I am religious, in such sort, that in you age doth abound, and in me wanteth libertie. Belæue me sir & be out of doubt, it is not loue but sorrow, not mirth but displeasure, not tast but torment, not recreation but confusion: when in the enamored there is not youth, libertie, and liberalitie. The man that is now entred into age, and wil be yong againe and enamored, they neuer terme him an old lover, but a filthy old sole, and (as God saue me) they haue great reason that so do call them: so old rotten strawes are moze fit to make dung, than to be kept. The God Cupid, and the Goddesse Venus, will not haue in household but yong men that can serue, libeall that knowe to spend, and free that can enioy and delight, pacient that can suffer, chaste that haue skill to talke, secret that knowe to keepe secrets, faithfull to gratify, and valiant that can perseuer: he that is not endued and priuiledged with these conditions, it shoulde be moze sound counsell for him to delue in the field, than to be enamored in pallace. For there are not in this world men moze miserable than the enamored. that be foolish.

The issue of
vnhonest loue.

The conditions of men
apt for loue.



lish. The doltish louer bestoies that his name scoorneth him, his
 neighbours iest at him: his seruantes beguile him, Pandar be-
 pealeth him, he is blinded with gilefull speeche, euill implo-
 yeth his iuels, goeth without foresight, he is light of beliefe, and
 in the end findes himselfe belouted. All the offices, crafts, and
 sciences in this world may be learned, except it be the skill and
 occupation to know to loue: the tobiche, neither Salamon had
 skill to write, Asclepius to paint, Ouid to teache, Helen to re-
 port, either yet Cleopatra to learne, but that from the schole
 of the hart it must procede, and pure discretion must giue in-
 struction. There is not any thing wherin is moze necessitie
 to be discret, than in being a louer: for if a man haue hunger,
 cold, thirst, and werineste, the only body salet it, but the soule
 lies that is committed in loue, the hart chiefly bewayleth this.
 To the end that loue be fixed, sure, perpetuall, and true, there
 must be equalities betwixt the enamored: for if the louer be
 yong, and the old, or he old and the yong, or he wise and she a
 foole, or he a foole and she wise, or he loue hir, and she abhor-
 reth him, or she loue him, and he abhorreth hir: beleue me fir-
 and be out of doubt that of fained loners, they shall ende assu-
 red and unfained enemies. *Passer Moser Rubin,* I thought
 good to say thus muche vnto you, to the ende that if the louer
 that you haue now chosen be in possession of thre scoze and
 thre yeres as you are, there is no greete perill that you loue
 and knowe hir. For most of the time you shall spend, shall be
 in recounting vnto hir the louers that you haue holden, and
 she in reckoning vp vnto you, all such as hath serued hir.
 Speaking moze in particuler, I woulde knowe to what pur-
 pose a man as you that hath passed thre scoze yeres, that is
 full spent, and laden with the gouer, will nowe take a Corti-
 san yong and faire, which will rather occupy hir selfe in rob-
 bing, than delighting of you. *As what ende will you haue a*
loue of whome you may not be ferued, but to bind vp grieues,
and to dye away lies: Wherefore will you haue a sainte
*Dame, since betwixt you and hir there may rise no other co-
 uersation or communication, but to relate and count recko-
 nings*

A louer in
 possession of
 threescoze and
 thre yeres.

wings and tales, and how little you haue eaten all the daye,
and howe manie tymes you haue tolde the clocke that night?
For what cause wold you haue a loue since you want strength
to folowe hir, goodes to serue hir, patience to suffer hir, and
youth to enioye hir? Why will you haue an amorous dame
vnto whome you can not repesente howe muche you haue
suffered and endured for hir sake, but repozte howe the goute
is rysen from the hande to the shoulers? No what conclu-
sion will you loue an infamous woman, whiche will not en-
ter in at your dozes that daye whiche you cease to giue hir, or
shall grow negligent to serue hir? No what consideration doe
you desire to haue a wanton loue, vnto whome you shall not
dare to deny any thing that she craveth, either chide for any
displeasure she giueth? No what seruice will you haue a law-
lesse loue, who may not be serued conforably to your good,
but agreeable to hir foolishnesse? For what skill wil you haue
a lemmann, which must be gratified for the fauour she beareth
you, and dare not complaine of the losses she shal demand
of you? For what concept will you haue a seconde Lais, which
when she shall flatter you, it shall not only be to content you,
but something to craue of you? For what intente will you
haue a loue, befoze whome you must needes laugh, although
the goute make you raue? For what meaning will you haue
a dissolute dame, with whom you shall spend all your goodes,
befoze you shall haue acquaintance with hir conditions? And
why desire you a lustie Lasse, with whom you are ioyned for
money, and also susteyn hir with delights, and yet in the end
must depart from hir with displeasures? If you M. Mosen Ru-
bin with these conditions will needes be enamoured, be it so
in a good houre, for I am sure it will rayne into your house.

A chiefe cause
of courtesans
loue.

No your age and infirmities, it were more conuenient to haue
a friend to recreate, than a Lamia, with whom to putrifie. Sa-
mocratus, Nigidius, and Ouide did wyte many booke, and
made greates treatys of the remedies of loue, and the re-
warde of them, is, they sought remedies for others, and v-
sed none for themselves, all thze dyed, persecuted and ba-

The authors
of remedies
for loue, and
the frute they
reaped thereof

nished, not for those offences they committed in Rome, but for the loues they attempted in Capua. Let Quide say what he deareth, Nigidius what him pleaseth, Samocratius what he thinketh good, but in fine, the greatest and best remedy against loue, is to see the conuersation and to auoyde the occasion: for in causes of loue we see many escape that doe flee it, and be-rye fewe that abide it. So take you heede, that the Diuine receyue you not in your reckenyng (a freshe to be enamoured) since it is not conuenient for the health of your person, either answerable to the authoritie of youre house: for I assure you of my faith, that sooner you shall be deliuered of the displeasures of your Courtizan, than of the paynes of the goutte. My pen hath stretched out farther than I thought, and also farther than you would: but since you were the first that laid hand to weapon, the fault is not myne, if I haue hapned to giue you a wippe. To the Father Prior of Corta celi, I sende a rich palia, for my sake I pray you to commaunde that it be giuen him, & in my behalf to visit him, because I lodged long time with him, & am much bound & affectioned vnto him. Remo-ue but that our Lord be your protector, and keepe you from an euill lemman, and heale you of your goutte. From Madrid the thirde of Marche, 1527.

The begin-
ners of qua-
rels do some-
tyme catche a
wyfe.

A letter vnto the Bishop of Zamora Sir Anthony of Acuna,
wherein he is sharply reprehended, for that he was cap-
tain of the commons that rebelled in Spaine.

Contrarye-
congratula-
tions in respect
of his functio
and maners.



Cuerent and seditious Prelate, Zalobrena the
sergeant of your hande gaue me a Letter of
yours, whiche presently I coude not vnder-
stand, but after I had read, & returned againe
to reade the same, I did see it was no letter,
but a bill that the Bishop of Zamora had sente:
wherein he dyd besse and threaten that he woulde kill me, or
commaunde me to be chastized. The cause of this deshaunce
your Lordshippe declareth to procede, for that in Villa Bra-
xima I withholde Sir Peter Giron from your patricallie, and

equall.

counsell'd hym to cease to followe you, and retire to serue
the king. I my Lozde doe accept your defiance, and hold my
selfe despyed, not that we kill our selues, but that we examin
our selues, not to the ende we goe vnto the feldes, but to in-
commende our selues to reason. Which reason as a ieiuer
of our factes shall declare whether of vs is moste culpable, I
in followyng and obeying the kynge, or you in altering and
reuolting the kingdomes. I remembre me being as the but yong
in Treceñon, a manour house of Gueuara, I did see my vncle
sir Ladron, & sir Beltram my father, mourne in black for your
father, & (in verie trouth my lord Bishop) seeing you as I did
see you in Villa Braxima compassed with artillery, accompanied
with souldiours, and armed at al points: with moze reason
we might weare green, bicause you liue, than black for y your
father died. The diuine Plaso of two thinges did not discern
which first to bewaile, that is to wit: the death of good men,
or the life of the wicked: for it is a most great grief vnto the
heart to see the good to soon to die, and the wicked so long time
to liue. A certain Greeke being demanded for what cause he
beweiled so great sorrow in y death of Agesilaus: He answered:
I wepe not bicause Agesilaus died, but for that Alcibiades re-
maineth liuing, whose life offendeth the Goddes, and escan-
dalizeth the world. A certain Gentleman of Medina (who is
named Iohn Cnafo) reported that being appointed to haue the
ouerlight of your byrthing vp, he was driuen to change foure
purples in six moneths: for that in nursing you were fierce
wayward, and importune in suckyng. It seemeth vnto mee
my Lozde Bishop, that since in your childehode you were so
paynfull, and in your lyfe so sedicious, it were great reason,
that in your olde yeares you shoulde be quiet: if not for your
deseruing, yet to repose you shoulde seeke quietnesse: holding
as you haue in youre possession thzee scoze yeare comple-
ted, and shortly maye boaste youre selfe of thzee scoze and
tenne accompyshed, it seemeth to mee no euill counsaile
that you offer (if it lyke you) the flower to God, for that
you bestowed so muche bypasse in the worlde.

The lyke
hote of a no-
table combat.

Since your gardein is blasted, your vinebage ended, your floure fallen, your primetyme finished, your youthe passed, you olde age come, it were muche moze conueniente to take order for amendment of olde sinnes, & reformation of your life, than to execute the office of Captaine ouer rebelling commoners. If you will not followe Chyriste that made you, yet folow sir Lewes of Acuna that hegat you: at whose gates many poze euery day bid seide, and at your gates we see not but playing and blaspheming souldiours.

In lewde office for an old bishop.

Declares for the bishp.

Doubtfull to be answered,

To make of souldiours priests, it passeth but of priests to make souldiours, is an acte moste scandalous: wherunto I will not say your Lordship consented, but that you exactly haue perfourmed. You broughte from Zamora to Tordissillas, thre hundred passing Priestres, not to instruct the Kinges subiectes, but to defend that Town against the King: and to remove your Lordship from euill townes, as also for the better saluation of their soules, you brought them from Zamora, in the beginning of Lent, in such wise that like a good pastore & an excellent Prelate, you remoued the from praying to fighting: in the assault which y Gentleme gave at Tordessillas against your bande, I saw with mine eyes one of your priests with an harquebuse ouerthrom eleven men behinde a window, & the grace was, that when he did lenell to shote, he blessed himselfe with his peece, and killed them with the pellof. I saw also, before the assaulte was ended, the Souldiours of our side, that were without, giue that good Prelate such a blow in the forehead with an arrow, that the death of that raytise was so suddain, as he had neither time to confesse his sinnes, nor yet so muche as to blesse himselfe. Bot notwe the soule of that Bishop that remoued that priest from his churche, & the soule of that priest that slew so many men, what excuse can they haue before men, and what accounte maye they make to God? It were a sinne to take you from the warres, but much greater to make you of the church, since you be so offensive, & in nothing scrupulous, & hereof we be most certain, for y you make no account to fight & to kill, and also to be irregular.

I would

I woulde gladly knowe in whether booke you haue read most, which is to wit, in Vegetius, whiche entreateth of matters of warres, or in S. Austine his booke of Christian doctrine? and that whiche I durste auouch is, I haue seene you many tymes handle a partisan, but neuer anye booke: and it seemeth vnto mee not a little greuous, that to the souldiours that assaulted and sel at the taking of the fort of Impudia, they say, that you sayde: So my sonnes vp, fight and die, beholde, my soule for yours, since you dye in so iust an enterpryse, and a demaunde so holpe. My Lorde Bishop, you well knowe that the Souldiours that there were slayne were excommunicate for sacriledge, traytours to the king, robbers of churches, theues on high ways, enemies of the common wealth, and maintainers of ciuill warre. It is most euident, that the soule of that Bishop that speaketh suche blasphemie, is not much scrupulous, that desireth to die as a souldiour: neither doe I maruell that he desireth to die like a desperate Souldiour, that neuer made account of his estate as a Bishoppe. If you had rayled this warre to refozme the common wealth, or to haue made free your countrey from some oppzession and taxation, it might seme you had occasion, although in deed no reason, but your Lordship hath not risen against the king for the weale of the kingdom, but to make exchange for a better Bishoprike, and to drine the Erle of Alua de Lista, out of Zamora. If you enter in reckening with all those of your bande, which goe in your companie, certainly you shall fynde that passion was your foundation, & not reason, neither zeale of the common wealth, but ouermuche desire in euery one to augment his owne house and estate.

A Bishoppe
bitterly voyde
of a scrupu-
lous consci-
ence.

A bishop fight-
ing for a bi-
shoprike.

Sir Peter Giron woulde haue the possession of Medina: the Earle of Saluatierra commaunde the royall Pastures: Fernand de Aualos renenge his iniurie: Iohn de Padilia be maister of Silames: Sir Peter Lasso the onely ruler in Toledo: Quintanilla Controller of Medina: Sir Fernando de Hullos expell his brother out of Toro: the Abbot of Compludo obtaine the Bishoprike of Zamora: the Doctor Barnardine, the Auditor of Val-

An Abbot
fighting for a
bishoprike.

iodolid: Ramir nimez the possession of Leon: and Charles de Arrelano toyne Soria with Vorobia: The wise man sayeth, he seeketh occasion that will depart from a friend: in like manner we may say, that seditious men seek not but rebellious times: for that it seemeth vnto them whiche want & are in necessitie, while rebellion lasteth, they may feed of the sweats of other mens browes, and profit by their neighbors losse. The arte seemeth not a litle gracious which you haue vsed to deceite and perswade Toledo, Burgos, Val iodolid, Leon, Salamanca, Auila, and Segouia to rebell, saying, that by this meane they shall be established and made free, as Venize, Geneva, Florence, Sena, and Luke: in suche wise, that from henceforth they shall not be named Cities, but Seigniozies. Pusing what was to be said in this matter: a good space I had my pen in suspence, and in the end, I conceived that vpon so great a vanitie and mischief (neuer like heard of) there is nothing to be sayd, much lesse to be written. For I hold it for certain and dare enough, that you make not those Cities free, but a praye, not entitle them with seigniozies, but profit your selues with their riches. Whose if wil take in hand any enterpryse that naturally is seditious or offensive, haue not to consider of the occasion that moueth the to rse, but only the good or evil end which therof may proceed: for all famous offences haue had always a beginning of good respects, Silla, Marius, and Cateline, whiche were famous Romans, and glorious Captaines, vnder the coloure to deliuer Rome from euill gouernours, made themselues tirants of the same. At sometymes it is lesse euill in greafe Cities to beare with some want of Justice, than to moue the people, and thereby to raise warre: for that war is a certain net that catcheth alway all weale from the common wealth.

The great Alexander being demaunded for what cause he would be Lord of the whole worlde, made answer: All the warres that are raised in this worlde, is for one of these three causes, which is, eyther to haue goodes, many lawes: or else many Kings: therfore would I obtain the same, to command throughout the whole worlde, that they honour but one God, serue

serue but one king, and obserue but one law. But let vs now conferre your Lordship with Alexander the great, and we shal finde, that he was a king, and your Lordship a Bishoppe: he a Pagan, and you a Christian: he dyed in the warres, and you in the Church: he neuer heard of the name of Christe, & you haue swoyne to obserue his Gospell: and with all these conditions he would not for the whole worlde haue but one king, and your Lordship wold haue seuen only for Castile. I say vnto your Lordship, that you wold establishe seuen kings in Castile, for that you would make the seuen Cities of the same seauen seignories. The good and loyal gentlemen of Spayn vse to remoue kings, to make one king, and such as be traytours and disloyall, do vse to remoue the king, to make kings.

For vs and our friends, we wil no other God but Christ, no other law but the Gospell, or other king but the Emperoure Charles the fifth. And if you and your commoners will haue an other king, and an other lawe, ioyne your selues with the Curate of Mediana, which euery Sunday both establishe and take away kings in Castile. And this is the case. In a certain place named Mediana, which is nere vnto Palomera of Auila there was a Biskay priest, and halfe a foole, whiche was moued with so great affection to Iohn of Padilia, that at the tyme of bidding of beads on the holy days, he recommended after this maner: My brethren, I commend vnto you one *Aue Maria* for the most holy communalitie, that it neuer decay. I commende vnto you an other *Aue Maria* for the matellie of king Iohn of Padilia, & God may prosper him. I commend vnto you an other *Aue Maria* for the Quenes highnesse our mistresse and Lady Mary of Padilia, that God may preserve hir: for of a troth these be the true kings, and all the rest before time were tyrantes. These prayers continued aboute three weekes (little more or lesse.) After whiche tyme Iohn of Padilia, with his menne of warre, passed that waye, and the soldiers that lodged in the priestes house inticed away his woman, drank his wine, kilde his hennes, and ate vp his bacon. The Sundaye folowing, in the Church he sayde: It is not vnknowe vnto you my brethren

The prelate
lost his Cate-
lina.

A tinage is
an earthen can
used in Spain
of no little use
to holde their
swine.

brethren, holwe Iohn of Padilla passe this way, and holwe his
souldier hath left me neuer a beane, haue eaten me a tithe
of bacon, haue drunke out a whole tinage of wine, and haue
caried away my Cateline, I say, so; that from henceforth you
shall not pray vnto God for him, but for king Charles, and for
our Lady Quene Ione, (for they be the true Princes) & giue
to the diuell these straunge kings. Behold here my Lord Bi-
shop, how the Curate of Mediana is of more power than your
Lordshippe, for that he made and vnmade things in thre we-
kes, whiche you haue not perfozmed in eyght moneths: and
yet I doe sweare and prophesie, that the King that you shall
establissh in Castile, shall endure as litle as that king whiche
was made by the Curate of Mediana. No more but that our
Lorde be your protectour, and lighten you with his grace.
From Medina del rio secco, the xx. of December. 1521.

A letter vnto the Bishop of Zamora, sir Antony of Acunna,
in whiche the Author doth perswade him to
turne to the seruice of the kyng.

Repugnancie
in respect of
estate and
maners.



Reuerend & disquiet bishop, by the let-
ter of Quintanilla of Medina, I was
aduertised in what maner your lord-
ship receiued my letter, and also vn-
derstode, that in the ende of readeing
therof, presently you beganne to
grone, and murmuring, sayd: Is this
a thing to be suffred, that the tong of
Priester Antony of Gueuara, may be of
more power than my launce? and that he be not contented to
haue withdrauing Sir Peter Giron, (euen from betwixte oure
hands) but also now euen here doth write me a thousand blas-
phemies. It hath much pleased me, that my letter was so wel
reſected, & with such swiftnes it pierced vnto your heart: for I
did not write, that you should read it, but that you should reade
and feele it. Be patient that doth determine to receiue a litle
subarbe,

rubarbe, suffreth the bitterness that it leaueth in the throte, for the poyson it doth hit against his rebet. I would say, that it shall little profite your Lordship, though you know how to complaine: if you do not likewise determine how to amend: for that your Lordship is an Oforio in bloud, in dignitie a Bishop, in authoritie a gentleman: or a knight, and in profession a Christian. I hold you in great reuerence: but to pntly therewith, as concerning your furious complaintes and threats, I esteeme them very little: for there is a God that beboldeth his seruants, and a Prince that standeth for his subiects.

I conceyue no euil, that you be a warriour, and that you go armed, vpon condition that your armour be such, as the Apostle speaketh of, *quid arma militie nostre non sunt carnalia sed spiritualia*: because your warre ought not to be with enemies but with vices, and as Seneca saith, more gloze was deserued by Caro in banishing vice out of Rome, than of Scipio for conquering the Carthaginians in Africa. But since you would needes go on warfare, and make warre vpon the whole common wealth of Castile, to soyle your enemies the Earle of Alar de Lissa, what faulte had the King and Queene committed: To pardon many for the merite of one is the office of Christians, but to chastise many for one mans offence is the condicion of tyrants: in suche sorte, that from henceforth we may not call you Bishop of Zamorra, but tirant of the common wealth.

The conditio
of tyrants.

Many times I say, to consider to what purpose your Lordship would needes disobey the king, alter the kingdome, raise vp the people, make armies, loyne with communers, cast away your selfe, and hurt and endamage the common welth: I am not able to comprehend any occasion, muchlesse any reason (except it be that, as you desire to be Archbishop of Toledo you would obtaine by strength, that whiche you desire not by vertue.) If the matter might come in iudgement before God, yea, and also before me, your Lordship may be sure, that more demerites would be found in you to be dispossessed of your Bishoprike that you now possesse, than merite where- by to giue you the Archbishoprike that you crave. The dig-

nities of the Church of God ought not to be giuen vnto suche as doth procure them, but vnto those that do refuse them: for so muche the more worthy is he to gouerne soules, that thinketh himselfe most vnworthy to performe the same. To deserue the Archbishoprike of Toledo, your Lordship ought rather to shed teares, than blood: to be in the temple, and not in the fields: to accompany the religious, and not souldiers: to pray at your houres, and not to alter the common wealthe: but your Lordship seeing that you cannot deserue by vertue, you determined to obtaine by armed strength. You ought to haue remembred that God hath chosen you for a Bishop, and not for a Captaine, for the Church, and not for the warre: to preach, and not to fight: to be innested with surples, and not with a shirt of maile: to succour Orphanes, and not souldiers: and also to giue orders, and not to order scales and ambushes to skirmish. The first bishop of this world which was S. Peter, founde amongst all the Apostles but two swordes to defende Christ, and there is to be founde a *M. Hagbuts* within your house to ruinate this Realme. In such wise we haue to praise you, not for your booke that you reade in, but for the armour you do possesse.

The office of
a Bishop.



Maldonado (your seruant and my friende) hath aduertised me, that you haue giuen him a benefice of *y. C. Ducats*. I demanding if he vnderstand to read his diuine prayers: He made aunswere: Sir you are in a wrong accompt, for at this instant in the house of my Lord Bishop, none hath skill to pray, but we all learne to skirmish. The houses of god prelates, are not but certaine scholes of vertues where none may haue acquaintance with lies, or learne to play the glutton, or to goe at large, or to be idle, either yet to delight in much talke, either to quarrell, or to be ambitious: which is not so in your house, where all become absolute, and glory and presume to be dissolute. When the gouernours of the kingdome thys other daye sente me thither vnto you, to offer condicions of peace with those of the conuocation in the towne of Braxima, and sawe your Lordship armed, like a clocke compassed with souldiers,

A Bishop
practiseth his
household not
to pray but to
skirmish.

Souldiers, inuironed with such multitude of shot, accompanied
with such numbers of commoners, and laden with affaires,
and businesse of so greate importancie, I was in a doubt with
my selfe, whether that which I saw was a dreame, or else the
Bishop Sir Turbin were risen againe from death. If you
will not call to remembrance that you are a Christian, that
you are a priest, that you are a preacher, and that you are a
native of this kingdome, yet become aduised that you descend
of noble blood, and of an ancient house (although it be
most true, that as you be an Osorio in blood, so are you rash
and desperat in condition.) It grieueth me (my Lord Bishop)
that you vse armour, not as a wise man, but as one ouerrash,
not as one that defendeth, but as one that offendeth, not as
you ought, but as you list: for I perceiue you follow opinion,
and flie reason: all your displeasure riseth for following your
will, and imploying your abilitie to a wrong purpose, but as
Scheca sayth, in the house where will doth commingles, very
seldome reason doth inhabit, and (as Muscolo maketh report),
that eating many times you saye at your table, is there na
man that will take me master Guenara, to hang him at a
whidewe for the disceite and intising away of Sir Peter Giron
out of oure perialitie? To say that I deceyued him, I denie
it: to saye that I deliuered hym from disceite I confesse it:
and whether it be good or euill for him to remayne there or
turne hither, I am sure he repenteth not to haue beloued
me, neyther I to haue given hym counsell.

Armour vied
to wrong pur-
pose.

Your Lordship doth well remember when youre Cap-
taine Lares did take me, and so taken brought me before you:
and notwithstanding you reprehended and belte euill with
me, I requested you on the behalfe of the gouernours, that you
would leaue warre, and accept an honest concorde, in whiche
Embassage you esteemed me very little, of that I said made
small account also, and scoffed at that which I spake. My lord
Bishop you do well knowe, how many eail dayes I haue pas-
sed, how many iniuries I haue suffered, what froward wordes
with me haue bene vied, what perills I haue past, what
despites.

despites haue bene done vnto me, with what threafnings I haue bin threafned, and also what flanders they haue rayled vpon me: for that I haue folowed the King, and procured peace vnto the Kingdome. When I was at the towne of Braxima with your Lordship and with the Commoners, I preached nothing vnto you but penitence, and to the kings gouernours at Medina del rio secco I perswaded nothing but clemencie: for it was impossible, if the one did not repent, and the other pardon, that these kingdomes might be remedied, neither so many euilles and dangers cut off. Nowe since I haue traueled after this manner, and suffered so greate trauals, I knowe not why you should call me traytoz, desire to kill me, and to hang me at a window, since I desire not to see your Lordship hanged, but amended. Titus Liuius maketh mention of a Roman Patricie, who being ambitious of honour, & a coward to obtaine the same, determined to set fier on a treasure house where all the people of Rome layd by their treasure. This euill disposed fellow being taken, tormented, and examined of the cause of his enterprise, made answer: I would haue done this hurt to the commō welth, so that writers should make mention of me in their Chronicles: whiche is to wit, as touching the treasures of Rome, though I had not abilitie to obtaine them, yet had I skill to burne them. I thought good to put youre Lordship in remembraunce of this hystorie, to the end you may vnderstande, considering I am Preacher and Chronicler vnto his maiestie, in which imperiall Chronicle, there shall be sufficient report of your Lordship, not that you were a father and a pacifier of your countrey, but rebellious, and an inuenter of these warres. Nowe maye I with troth write of the rebellion of Toledo, the death of the ruler of Segouia, the taking of Tordesillas, the imprisonment of the counsell, the siege of Alahcias, the conuocation of Auila, the burning of Medina, the alteration of Valiedolid, the scandall of Burgos, the losse of Toro, Zamora, and Salamanca, without I make mention of your Lordship: Nowe may I make report of the euils that Vera the Lochier hath committed in Valiedolid: Bo-

I wrong
meane to ob-
tayne fame.

Nota

N

badilla

badilla the Shereman in Medina: the Lorthiar in Avila and Ber-
gor: and in Salamanca the Skilnor: but that in that holy bye-
tyerhood we must find the Bishop of Zamora: I report me by
to you my Lord Bishop, shall I raise any slander upon you,
by reporting in my Chronicle, that I sawe at the towne of
Braxima, all the artillerie brought together to the gates of your
house, I saw watch & ward kept rounde about your lodging.
I saw all the Captaines of your bands seide at your table, I
saw them all ioyne to consult in your chamber, and that al did
exclame for long life to the bishop of Zamora: All these things
which your Lordship hath done, I woulde gladly leaue them
unwritten, if your Lordship would amend, and also remedie
the mischiefe you haue in hand: but I beholde you with such
eyes, and with such an opinion: that you will rather lose your
life wherewith you liue, than the opinion which you follow.
I conceived no small compassion, when this other day I saw
you compassed with the commoners of Salamanca, with vil-
laines of Saiago, with manquellers of Leon, with rebelles of
Zamora, with Cappers of Toledo, and with hit makers of Va-
liodolid. All which in generall you are bound to content, and
not licence to command. This kind of people that you leade
of the communaltie is so vaine and fickle, that with threatens
they will followe you, with intreatance be sustayned, with
promises be blinded: fighting with feare, walking with sus-
pition, liuing vpon hope: not contented with little, or pleased
with gifts: so their intente is not to followe those that haue
most right, but such as giue best wages. There is a certayne
difference betwixt vs and you, which is that we whiche fol-
low the King, hope to be rewarded, but you haue no suche
hope, but by violence to please your selues, which we knowe
well that you your selfe haue promised to your selfe the Arch-
bishopricke of Toledo, we well knowe that Iohn of Padilla (hee
himselfe) hath promised vnto himselfe the Mastership of S.
James, we do knowe that Clauero (himselfe) hath promised un-
to himselfe the Mastership of Alcantara, we well knowe that
the Abbot of Compludo (he himselfe) hath promised vnto him-
selfe:

I claunde-
rous frater-
nitie.

Difficultie
content.

Vaine promi-
ses.

A quent of
Maruedis
which be 6.
for a penny.
amount, 2500
Dukats.

Selfe the Bishoppe of Zamora, we well know that the Bishop
of Valladolid (he himselfe) hath promised vnto himselfe & Bish
hopps of Valencia, Sir Peter Pinemet, Maldonado, Quintanilla,
Sarabia, & Licetiat Barnardine, and the docto Cowshed: None
of these at this day wil giue their hope for a good quēt of rent.
Ramir Nunez & John Braue do accept to be called Lordes, Iohn
Braue for he hath hope to be Earle of Chincon, & Ramir Nu-
nez Earle of Luna: it may be that one of the o; both may first
lose their heads, befoze they haue obtayned their estates.
Wherefoze my Lord Bishop, retire, repent, and amend, by
cause the loyaltie of Castile doth not suffer but one king, ney-
ther endure but one lawe. No moze, but that our Lord be
yours instructor. From Tordeillas the tenth of March. 1521.

A letter vnto Sir Iohn of Padilla Captaine of the Commoners
against the King, wherein he perswadeth him to sur-
cesse that infamous enterpryse.

Repugnance
of speech in
respect of no-
ble blood, and
want of iudge-
ment.



Magnificent and vnauised Gentleman, the let-
ter that with youre owne hande you haue
written vnto me, and the credite and trust
you sent me, with your seruant Montaluan, I
haue receyued here in Medina: and to say the
troth, I did not moze delight to see your leter,
than I receyued grieve to beare youre message: for that it se-
meth you determine to procede with youre enterpryse, and
to finish the ruine of this common wealth. Sir you do well
vnderstande, at the assemble of Auila, I saide vnto you, that
you were lost, deceyued, and solde: bycause Hernando of Auila,
Sir Peter Giron, the Bishop of Zamora, and the other com-
moners, had not innented this Ciuill warre with zeale to
redresse the offences in the common wealth: but to take
vengeance of their enemies. Sir also I saide vnto you, that
the resolution of that assembly seemed vnto me great dan-
tie and no small haunte, and that which the common people
demanded, which is to witte, that in Castile all shoulde con-
tribute,

A frivolous
deuise.

tribute, all should be equal, all should paye, and that they should be governed after the manner of seignories in Italy, the which is scandalous to heare, and blasphemie to speake: for as it is impossible to governe the body without armes, so is it impossible that Spaine be sustained without Gentlemen.

Also I said unto you, that bring of blood had filled, of persons so well compact, in armes so expert, of minds so valiant, in iudgemente so advised, in condition so well liked, in age so tender, and in the flowers of yowre youth, it were muche more convenient for you to serve the King in Flanders, than Castile to trouble his kingdome. Also I did aduertise you, how in that of late the King had created the Admiral and the Constable for governours, which with all the mightie and nobles of Spaine, toynd in Medina del Rio Secco, to give order for the succour of Tordillas, and to chase away the Rebels from the town of Braxima, my desire and iudgement is, that you should rather esteeme to be a souldier with the Gentlemen, than a Captaine over Rebels. Also I said unto you, that the governours had commaunded a scaffold to be made, whereupon a King at armes being ascended made publique proclamation, that all knightes and Gentlemen that repaired not within fiftene dayes with Horse and Armour, under the Kings Standerdt to serve and be resident, should be holden as traitors and disloyall, and that it seemed unto me that you should rather have accomplished that which the governours commaunded, than that which in Toledo they had desired. Also I sayde unto you that commonly ciuill and popular warres decay in puissance, preuaile sildome, and may not indure, and after they be finished, and the common wealth pacified, the Kings and Princes of the same doe vse for custome to pardon the common people, and behead the Captaines. Also I sayd unto you that you should not blinde your selfe with follicheyes, eyther with wordes of vncertaine purposes, which he is to witte: if anye shall saye unto you that you are the father of the countrey, the refuge of pillovers, the repaire of the greived, the defender of the common wealth, and the

Notable qualities
which will
be employed.

In rebellion
use to pardon
the poure, and
to behead the
Captaines.

and will
beholden
the

the restorer of Castile: for the very same persons that to daye do name you redeemer, on the morrow will proclaime you traytor. Also I sayd vnto you that you ought to haue before youre eyes, that your father Peter Lopes, and your Uncle Sir Garcia, and your Brother Gutiere Lopes, and all your friends and allies, be all in service of the King in the gouernours Camp: and that you alone (of all your linage) amongst rebellous bend against the King, whereof there followeth that you alone being in fault, they here in generall receiue the shame.

Also I said vnto you, that since the King had giuen you no cause of offence, either taken from you any rewarde or bounty, or commaunded you any iniustice. It were very vniust that you should be the whip wherewith Hernando of Auais should reuenge his iniurie. For if he hath swozne to be reuenged of Xeres, also you are bound to be faithfull vnto the King. Also I said vnto you, that you should giue to the Diuell the prophesies, witchcrafts, and enchantments of the Lady Mary your wife: whiche is sayde that she and a certaine woman shal do practise: for that to speake and practise with the Diuell, it may not be otherwise but that he leaseth his soule, and you to lose your life and hono^r. Also I said vnto you, that you should not care to attempt to enter the Couent of Vales, with intent to be master of Saint Iames, either to thow Sir Iohn del Rio Secos out of Toledo, since it were a vanitie to thinke it, and a great lightnesse to take it in hande, for to be master of Saint Iames, you haue not done suche seruice wherefore it should be giuen you, neyther Sir Iohn hath done any treason, wherby it should be take from him. So many and so good Counsells, so many and so profitable aduises, so many and so perswasible wordes, so many and so importune desires, so many and so great promises, so many and so great assurances, as I gaue, promised, did sweare, desire, and importune, and assure you, mighte not procede from a suspitious friende, either from a man of a double condition, but rather as from a father to a sonne, from a byother to a brother, and from a friend to a friend. I would to God you did thoroughly know my hart,

and

perswasions
of a perfect
friend.

and the heart of Hernando of Aualos your vncke, then shoulde you see most cleare, how it is I that do loue you, and he that doth deceyue you: I that giue you the hande, and he the man that offreth you deceptis: I that shew you the deapth, and he that sendes you to the bottome: I that set by the marke, and he that takes away the white: I that lettes you bloud in the right vaine, and he that lameth your armes. Finally, I am he that would cure and open your impostume, and he is the man that giueth end to your lyfe, and burieth your renomme. If you had taken my counsell, I had placed you in my Chyronicles amongst the glorious personages of Spayne, with the famous Viriato, the venturous Cid, the good Fernan Gonsalis, the knight Tiran, and with the great Captaine, and other infinite knightes and Gentlemen worthy of prayse, and no lesse to be followed. But since you woulde needs imitate and credit Hernando of Aualos, and the other rebellious commo-ners, I shall be forced to place you in the Cathaologe of the famous tyzantes, that is to saye, with the Justice Castromino, and Fernan Centeno, with captayn Sapico, the durbesse of Vil-
lalu, the Marshal Peter Pardo, Alfonso Trufillo, Lope Carasco,
and Taymayo Iquirdo.

An eloquence
rarely bled.

Rebelleres of
Spayne.

All these and many other with them, were tyzantes and rebelleres in the dayes of king Iohn, and king Henry. And this is the difference betwixt you and them, that euery one of them dyd tyzannise but their owne countreyes, but you the whole countrey of Castile. I can not comprehend your intention, either can I conceyue what you may obtaine in folowing this enterpryse, and to contend vpon so vniust a demaunde, since you knowe, and all we vnderstande, that if your enterpryse shoulde happe to preuaile, there is none that woulde accepte, gratifie, or take it in good part: and if your purpose be made frustrate, there is a King that will reuenge the iniurie, for the greatenesse and Maiestie of Castile knoweth not to endure disobedience to their kings, either suffer themselves to be commaunded by tyzantes.

When this ycare ye came to talke with me in Medina del
campo,

R.j.

Castil guydes
not to be fol-
lowed.

In eloquent
persuasion.

campe, and I went with you to see the bit maker, and Vitoria, the skinner, Bobadilla the sheareman, Pennelas the carbe maker, Ontoria the lockier, Mender the bookebynder, and Lares the enseigne bearer, that were the heads and inuentours of the commoners of Valiodolid, Borgos, Leon, Zamora, Salamanca Auila, and Medina: I assure you, I was dismayde and ashamed for that presently I did both see and knowe that passion was your guyde, and they conducted by opinion, & that you all, did the reason: but for that I am in yesc a sinner, in habite religious, in office a preacher, and in knowledge simple, you haue not to make small accompt of my counsell: for as Plato sayd, we are not a little beholding vnto those that do aduise vs wherein we erre, and doe directe vs in what we ought to doe: for it is much better we amend by others correction, than lose our selues by folishe perseverance. Belieue me, and be out of doubt, Maister Iohn of Padilla, if you had spoken firste with me in Toledo, as you did after talke with me in Medina, you had neuer taken this enterpryse in hande: for as the Emperour Traiane did vse to say, men that possesse noble heartes and blushing visages, ought neuer to beginne that, whiche lyeth not in their handes to perfoyme: for other wyse, they shall leane with great shame, that they beganne with great hope. Sir, you doe well knowe, that all those that you leade in your campe against the king, be theues, murderers, blasphemers, and seditious Commoners: all whiche as they are a base people, and men of handicrafte, you haue to intreate them, but not to force them: suffer, but not to chastise: to pray, but not to commaunde: to flatter, but not to threaten: for they followe you not to remedie things amisse, but to rob the goods that others haue in possession. What daye that the king shall enter into Castile: that day that you shall lose any battell: and also that daye that you haue not to paye the men of warre, then shall you see howe they will trudge from you, without taking any leaue, and also make a secreete sale of you.

Sir, haue compassion of your age so tender, and of your
blond

bloud so vndeiled, of your parentage so honozable, of your
house so auncient, of your condition so good, of your abilitie so
entier, and of your youth so euill imployed: all which things
you haue vnsauourly infected, and also in a maner mortified.
If you will beleue me and giue credite vnto my woordes, in-
commende your selfe vnto God, leaue this enterpryse, turne
vnto the king, goe vnto the Gouernours, and shake handes
with these commoners. Iozasmanche as the king is pitifull,
and all men desire your remedie and welfare: he woulde
much moze accept your comming to serue with the rest, than
to haue raised this war against him. Let not the deuill deceiue
you, either any vaine or fantasticall imagination hinder you
to perfoyme the same, neither to conceiue that they haue to
charge you with vnstableness, in that you haue enterprised,
either as a traitor for y^e you haue taken in hand: bicause in al y^e
histories of this world they be acompted loyal that serue their
king and such as rebell be called disloyall, & traitors. Also if a
Gentleman be reponed for slouthfulness, he riseth moze ear-
ly, and vseth moze diligence: if they call him babbler, he kee-
peth silence: if they accuse him for a glutton, he vseth tempe-
rance: if they charge him as an adulterer, he abstayneth: if
they burden him to be furious, he suffereth: if they impute
him to be ambitious, he abaseth: if they name him a sinner, he
amendeth: but if they call him by the name of a traytor, there
is no water that may wash or make it cleane: either any ex-
cuse that may excuse it. Neyther is the king so muche offen-
ded, or the kingdome so much altered, or affaires so afozeband,
nor the Gouernours of so hard disposition, but that you maye
be reduced and finde time very conuenient to serue the king.
The which if you woulde perfoyme, I promise you by y^e faith
of a Christian, and do sweare vnto you by the lawe of an ho-
nest man, that amending this wrong, my penne shall change
his stile.

The wordes
of a very
frende.

Montauan, maister of your house, and I haue communed in
secrete things of greate importaunce, and since he did herein
credit me, it shal not be amisse that you beleue him there, and

R.y.

if you

if you will not, I walke my handes of all your faulte, and from hencefo; warde doe take my leane of your friendship. No more, but that with the faith and credit that I haue receiued your letter, with the verie same it may please you to receyue this of myne. From Medina del camo the eight day of Marche, in the yeare of our Lorde. 1521.

A letter vnto a Gentleman, and secrete friend to the Author, wherein he doth aduise and reprehende him for his wretched couetousnesse.

Repugnancie
in speeche, in
respect of
birth and ma-
ners.



Magnificent and couetous Gentleman, the good Empero; Titus, that was son to Vaspasian, and brother to Domitian, was of himself so vertuous, & of al the Romane Empire so welbeloued, that at the tyme of his death they did engrauethese words vpo his sepulchers: *Delitiae moriuntur generis humani*, which is to say, To daye is dead in Rome & did

A famous
speache of an
heathen prince



reioyce all mankynd. Of this good Empero; Titus is read in Suetonius, & being at supper on a time with many Princes of & empire, & other Embassadors of diuers kingdoms, sodainly gaue a great sigh, & sayd, *Diem amissimus amici*, as if he should say more clere: Let not this day be accompted amongst the dayes of my lyfe, because this day I haue not performed any goodtie, neither giuen any rewarde. Plutarke doth report of Alexander the great, that when many Philosophers had disputed in his p;esence wherein consisteth the good happe of this lyfe, hee made answer: Beloeue me friends, and be out of doubt, that in all this worlde there is not equall delighte or lyke pleasure, as to haue wherewith to be liberall, and not wherewith to chasise. Also it is said of Theopontus the Thebane, who being a Captayne of men of warre, a souldioure craued of him some peece of money to buye bzeade, and hauing none to giue, pulled of his shoes, saying: If I had better, I would giue thee better, but in the meane while take these shoes of myne.

A magnificent
answere of a
pagan king.

Nota

myne for that I haue no money: for it is moze iust that I goe barefoot, than thou an hungred. Dionysius the tyrant entring vpon a certain day into his sonnes chamber, and seeing there many iewels of siluer and gold, sayde: Sonne, I did not giue these riches to the end thou shouldest keepe them, but bicause thou shouldest giue and imparte them. For there is no man in this world of moze power, than the giuing and liberall man: for with his giuing he conserueth his frendes, and maketh tender his enimies. I haue made this discourse to vtter a certaine thyng vnto you, which if you were in Castile, as you are in Andolozia, my penne should neuer haue wrytten vnto you, but my tounge should haue spoken it into your eare: for our assured frendes, notwithstanding we haue licence to blame them, yet we may not vse our libertie to defame them. Some of Andolozia hath told me here, and some of your frendes haue wrytten me from thence, that your delite exceedeth to farre in hoarding vp of money, and no lesse enimie with the spendyng therof. Of which dede and disposition I am not a little grieved, & also muche ashamed, bicause hono^r & auarice be so contrarie and in such contention and defiance, y^e they neuer dwell in one person, neither at any time had any affinitie. All vicious men in this life haue some tast in their vices, except it be the miserable and most vnfortunat couetous nigard, which is to m^eted with that which others do possesse, & takes no tast in that whiche he hath. The painfull tranell of the couetous nigarde is, that alwayes he walketh suspicious and in feare, that the raging flouds carrie awaye his w^olles, that the biers eate vp his meades, that hunters steale his game, and that th^eues rob his treasure: but in fine, the miserable couetous man, from no man dothe so muche defend his goodes, as from his own person. That wherin the couetous man tak^es most sauour, is to hutch vp double Ducates, to tell golde, to hyde money, to sel his wine deare, to ho^od much wheat in garners, his Calues to haue good yeaning, not to raine in Aprill, and to haue much wheate in May. The highest glozy of the couetous man is, to be gettyng, to be hoarding, none to craue of

him.

him,

An exceeding humanitie of a generall to a poore souldi^or

An excellent counsell to make enimies tender, and to conserue frendes.

The couetous man defendeth his goodes from himselfe.

him, and neuer to spende. And although in these fewe things he taketh some taste, with many other he passeth greates toiments, which is to vnderstande, if they aske an halfe penie for spice, a peny for candles, a dandiprat for an earthen pot, a farthing for oyle, two pens for salt, he riues the house with yelles, and giues vnto the diuell both wyfe and children, exclaiming that they are all bent to rob him. God endueth that with singular grace to whom he giueth a shamfast countenance, and an heart of noble disposition. For if the wretched nigarde had once tasted how sweet a thing it is to giue: the things most necessarie to his propre vse, he should not be able to retaine. The noble mynded and liberall man giueth not so muche as they giue him: for in recompence of euery bountie, they giue themselves wholly at his libertie to bee commaunded.

The liberall
and noble min-
ded, is Lorde
of his neigh-
bour.

The vile con-
ditions of the
couetous.

The liberall and noble minded man is Lorde of the people where he dwelleth, & of all men with whom he hath conuersation: for being assured that he wil gratify them, no man hath the face to denye him any thing. The contrarie doth chaunce to the miserable nigarde and harde harted couetous man, vnto whome no man will appoche, no man will talke, no man will accompanie, no man giueth any thing, no man entreth his doores, neither any man will fetch fire at his house. Who will craue any thing of the couetous nigarde: much lesse enter his house, seeing him weare his shoes forne, his hose rent, his cap threde bare, his hat greasie, his shirt ragged, his doublet lose and vnpoyned, and he walking alone. How will he remedie the necessitie of a stranger, that will not mende the gutter of his house: How will he giue any man an almes that trusteth himselfe with a points end: How will he succour the vnkown, that killeth his owne with hunger: How will he giue wood to the hospitall, that warmes himselfe by the trash of strawe: To whome will he lend money that buriethe his owne: How will he imparte and giue of his wheate, that hath hope in May to sel for double price: Who dare be a friend to the couetous and wretched nigarde, being an enemy to himselfe.

selfe: How many couetous men haue we seene and doe see e-
 uery day, vnto whome God giueth force to get riches, wit to
 sustaine them, a mind to defende them, a life to possesse them, &
 giueth them not licence to enioy them: but where they might
 be Lordes of other mens, we see them slaues to their owne
 proper goodes. Of how muche moze excellencie is honest pro-
 pertie, than is cursed auarice, whiche is to be knowne moste
 cleare: bicause the poore man is contented with his little, and
 the rich man with his aboundance seemeth to be in necessitie.
 What greater disgrace, eyther greater mischance may hap-
 pen to the welthy couetous man, since for all things he seeth
 in others he sigheth, and all that he hathe in possession he lack-
 keth: The couetous man hath his eyes occupied in his vices
 he planteth, his hands in the money he receyueth, his tong a-
 mongst his factozs with whome he chideth, his sate in wan-
 dzing to his heards and granges, his time in wilcs that he
 frameth, his eares in accompts he receaueth, his body in bar-
 gaines he maketh, & his hart on the Ducates that with great
 watch he keepeth: in such wise, that as he goeth wandzing be-
 sides himselfe, so he obserueth no part to himselfe. What the
 couetous man hathe not the heart or courage to giue to his
 friends or kindred, it is most true. Dare they bestow any cost
 vpon themselves: no surely: no truly: but holde it as euill im-
 ployed whatsoeuer they bestowe vpon themselves, as that
 which is stolne from them. To the couetous miserable nigard
 they raise a slander vps him, in saying that he is rich: bicause,
 not he the riches, but his riches doth him hold & possesse: in such
 wise, that he passeth greate trauelles in gathering of them,
 danger in keeping them, law in defending them, and toymēt
 in departing from them: for if shame did not let him, he would
 rather cate bread and onyons, than lay out one peny. The
 couetous man is not of so good disposition as is the dirtie Pot-
 ter, since the one profiteth himselfe by earthe, and the other
 dare not touch golde: and farther and besides this, the poore
 Potter getteth his liuing by selling of pottes, & the wretched
 couetous man loseth his honoz by hoarding of riches. The

Slaves to
 their owne
 goodes.

Waiting that
 which he poss-
 sesseth.

Nota

Two keyes
to his cofer,
but two C. in
his hart.

The whole
life of the nig-
gard is spent
in penance.

The fruites
of couetous-
nesse.



wretched niggard hauing his money neuer so muche buried,
watched, and kept, yet from none doth he so much keepe it, as
from himselfe, bycause if hee haue two keyes vnto his coffer
to make all safe, he hath two hundreth in his hart to saue the
from spending: men shamesaced, and of noble mindes, haue
greate cause to be ware that they begin not to hoord or lay vp
money: for if he once giue himselfe to hoord and hide money,
be it neuer so little, be it no more but to gain one only groate,
he shal euery day fall into a thousand euils, shames, and con-
fusions. For any man to be reuenged of a rouseous manne,
he hath not but to desire that he may liue long, for a muche
woyle life is obtayned by the wretched niggard with his aua-
rice, than we would giue him with some great penance. I doe
lie if I did not know (being warden of Arcuallo) a great riche
man, which did not eate of all his goodes, but the salne frute,
the rotten grapes, the mustie wheate, the solwe wine, the
Rat eaten bread, the wormy cheese, and the resty Bacon: in
such wise that he would not enterprize or aduenture to eate,
but that he could not sell, I confesse that sometimes I wente
vnto his house, more to beholde than for any businesse, and
saw his chambers full of Cobwebs, his doores vnhanged, the
windowes cleft, the lockes decayed, the flowers vncuen and
full of holes, the tiles vntiled, the chaires broken, the chim-
neys falne downe: in suche wise, that it was rather an house
to murmur at, than to dwell in. Although it be a shame to
spell it, I wil not leaue to say that which the neighbours and
his friends hath sayd vnto me: that if there hapned any kins-
man or friend to visit him, he was driuen to seeke lodging at
his neighbours, or to bozow all that was necessary. Great (of
a troth) is that couetise, and much infamous is that auarice,
which is not repressed with the shame of this world, neyther
cut off by the feare of death. The couetous wretched niggard,
that he goeth seeking, is carefullnesse for himselfe, enute for
his neighbours, spurres vnto his enemies, a pray for theues,
perill for his person, damnation for his soule, malediction for
his heires, and law for his children. All these thinges Sir I
thought

thought good to write, thereby to giue you to vnderstande the grosse offence you haue taken in hande, and the euill opinion they do conceiue of you (the which to vs your friends is great shame, and to you a most great infamie.) Sir amende your fault, and take some other order in your life, for in the house of any honest manne, any lacke of goodes is tollerable, but no want in honour. If you shall alwayes continue to be a miser, a niggard, and shall giue your selfe to keepe and hoord money, from henceforward I take my leaue of your friendship, and also to call you my acquainted: For I neuer delighted to hold acquaintance with the man that would presume to lie, and giue himselfe to keepe. This letter I send you without head or taile, which is to wit, without date or firme, for going with such choler and so vnfauorite, it is not reason he should be knownen that did write it, neither to whome it was written. No more.

A letter vnto the Lady Mary of Padilia, wife to Don John of Padilia, wherein the Authour doth perswade, that she should tourne to the service of the king, and giue no occasion of the losse of Castile.



Magnificent and bradaised Lady, in the dayes that the good Emperour Iustinian did raigne in the East, a certaine Captaine of his dyd gouerne the kingdomes in the West & was named Narsetes, a man of greate capacitie to gouerne, and of great valiantnes in fighting and giuing battell: of this Narsetes the Romanes did saye, that in him only was the force of Hercules, the boldnesse of Hector, the noblenesse of Alexander, the wisdome of Pirrhys, the valiantnesse of Antheus, and the fortune of Scipio. After that this glorious captain had overcome and slaine Atholia King of the Gothes, Vncelino king of the French men, Sindual king of the Brittons: and also pacified and triumphed ouer all the kingdomes of the West, the Romanes sought meanes to disgrace

Notable conditions of the captain Narsetes.

him with his Lorde and maister Iustinian, saying and giuing him to vnderstand, that he sought meanes to obtaine the Empire: wherefoze Narsetes was constrained to departe from Rome and to passe into Asia to appeare befoze the Emperour Iustinian, and the Emperesse Sophia his wife, to declare his innocencie, and to make pꝛoue that enuie had raised that sclaunder: certaine dayes were then past that the Emperesse Sophia had conceived disoaine against Narsetes, some say it was for his great wealth, others for that he commaunded in the Empire with too much authoritie, and others because he was a gelded man: and when she saue time to vtter hir hatred, she said vnto him in Court on a certaine day: since thou Narsetes art lesse than a man, and halfe a woman (being an Eunuche)

I cruell commandement,

I commaunde thee to leaue the government of the Empire, and that thou get thee vp to weaue where my maydes doe weaue and knit caules, and that there thou help them what they commaund thee. Although Narsetes were a man of great authoritie and of no lesse grauitie, these wordes did so deeply pearce him to the quicke, that he chaunged countenance, the teares brake from his eyes, and so chased, with teares he said: Serene Princes, I woulde right gladly that you shoulde chaſise me as a Lady, but not to defame me like a woman: it greueneth me not so much of that you haue said, as the occasion which you giue me, how to make you answer: and said moze, I presently depart vnto Italy to weaue, knit, and frame such a toyle, that neyther thou maist comprehend, noz yet thy husband able to vnweaue. Comming now to the purpose, my Lord Abbot of Compludo gaue me here in Medina a letter fro your Labiship, which contained such ouerthwarts, such want of measure, and so greate rashnesse, that he was ashamed to haue deliuered it, and I assented to see the contents thereof. And as the good Narsetes answered the Emperesse Sophia, it greueneth me not of that you haue saide, but of that whiche I must answer, for of necessitie my penne must stand for the to make combat with your tong. Your Labiship doth say in your letter, that you haue sene the letter that I sent vnto youre husband

I sharpe answer,

This penne is constrained to make combat

husband Iohn of Padilia, and that it dothe well appeare in the same, that it came from a frier, irregular, soule spoken, onerthwart, absolute and dissolute: and that if I were one of the world, not only I would not dare to wright such things, neyther yet so much as in coznerns to speake them. Also you dare extremely charge me that I haue suborned Sir Peter Lasso, dissuaded Sir Peter Giron, contended with the Bishop of Zamora, resorted to Villa Braxima for the Governours, that I preache publikely againste the commoners, and that in my mouth there is no truth, nor in my deedes any fidelitie. Also you blame me, charge, condempne, and threaten me for the letter I did write vnto your husbnde, and for the counselles and aduertisementes I gaue him: affirming and swearing, that since he had conference with me, he hath alwayes bene sorrowfull, peniue, melancholicke, and also vnfortunate.

Also you note, blame, and charge me, that I neuer cease to lye vnto the gouernours, deceyue the commoners, discourage his men of warre, preach against the commonaltie, promise that which the King commaundeth not, goe and come to Villa Braxima, and to leade all Castile in suspence. These and such other things are contayned within youre letter vnto your husband, and scandalous to recount. But since youre Ladship hath first laide hand vpon the sword, complaine not if I happen to giue you some wound on the head. What that which your Ladship sayth (if I were of the world as I am of religion,) I durst not wright such a letter vnto youre husband, your Ladship speaketh greate troth: for I being the son of Sir Beltram of Guevara, and cousin to Sir Lachon of Guevara, and to be there in the worlde, I shoulde not write vnto him but fighte with him; not make penne, but sharpen the launce; not geue counsell or perswade your husbnde, but beseege him; because the contention betwixt loyaltye and treason, ought not to be tried with wordes, but with swords. I am in profession a Christian, in habite religious, in doctrine a diuine, in linage of Guevara, in office a preacher, and in opinion a gentleman and no commoner: for which cause I presume to preach

Loyaltie and treason fight not with wordes, but with swords.

preach

preach the troth, and to impugn the communalitie. I holde for
 sure, that those whiche defende the troth, be the most noblest
 knights and gentlemen in your Camp: for they rob not vpon
 high wayes; neyther steale out of Churches, destroy no corne,
 burne no houses, spoyle no people, neither do consent to men
 of vile conditions: for they obserue the law, and obey the king.
 I hold these for rebelles amongst the commoners, Hernando
 of Aualos that did inuent it, your Ladiship that doth sustayne
 it, your husbände that dothe defende it, the Bishop of Zamora
 that doth prosecute it, Sir Peter Giron that doth authoize it,
 Sir Peter Lasso that doth publish it, Sarabia that doth comende
 it, Quintanilla that doth accompany it, Sir Charles of Aurella-
 no that doth honoꝝ it, and Sir Peter Pimentel that commande
 it: all whiche know not what they followe, muche lesse what
 they demand.

I do well vnderstand that Hernando of Aualos was y first
 that inuented the state of all things in common, and I know
 that in your house was commaunded and ordeyned, to make
 conuocation in Auila, and the order to raise all Castile, in such
 maner, that he made the fier, and your Ladiship did blowe
 it. A blacke correction was that of Giberaltar, whiche was ta-
 ken from Hernando of Aualos. Since it was the cause that he
 deceyued you, and you Iohn of Padilla, and Iohn of Padilla Sir
 Peter Giron, and Sir Peter Giron Sir Peter Lasso, and Sir Peter
 Lasso the Abbot of Compludo, and the Abbot of Compludo the
 Bishop of Zamora, the Bishop of Zamora the Licenciat Barnar-
 dine, the Licenciat Bernardine Sarabia, and Sarabia all the rest
 of the Letany. I haue many times thought, deuised and also
 enquired, what motion might moue your Ladiship to botwe
 the alteration of this kingdome: and all youre friendes and
 kinfolk do answer, that you haue diuined or else dreamed,
 to see your husband master of Saint Iames, which if it be so, is a
 most certaine great lightnesse, and no smal damme: for it may
 come to passe, that in the place to gyue hym the crosse, they
 may put him vpon the crosse. If you woulde make your hus-
 band Master of Saint Iames, you must take some other order,
 and

and giue him some other counsell: so; so gret a dignitie in times
past was not obtayned to the masters thereof by rebellion;
(as you that haue raised all Castile) but by fighting valiantly
with the Moores in the biage of Granada. In all the common
welthes of this world there be friends and enemies, conten-
ted and discontented, prosperous and vnfortunate, and also
loyalties and treasons, wherein the one or the other is kno-
wen: the loyall in that they giue themselves to serue, and the
traytozs to spoyle and rob. Your Ladiship hath to remember
that king Iohn is dead, and king Henry gone, they haue cut
the throte of the Marshall Peter Pardo, and they haue banished
the Iustice Castromino, the Captaine Sapico was drowned in
a well; and Fernan Centeno was hanged: in whose miserable
times, who could do most had most, but now praise be to God,
he that will haue any thing, must not only craue but deserue.
If stories doe not deceiue vs, Mamea was proud, Medea was
cruell, Martia was enuious, Popilia was vnchast, Mirtha was
malicious, and Domitia was rath: but I haue read of none
that hath bin disloyall and a traytresse, but youre Ladiship
that hath denied the fidelitie that you owe, and the blood from
whence you are descended. Your Ladiship descending from a
parentage so honorable, of blood so annient, of father so vali-
ant, and of linage so noble: I know not what sinnes you haue
committed (that it shoulde be your chaunce) to match with a
husband of so small discretion, and he to obtaine a wife of so
great wisdome. Women naturally were wont to be pitifull,
but your Ladiship is cruell, they were wont to be mild, but
you are fierce, they were wont to be patient, but you are qua-
relling, and also they were wont to be colwardes, but you
are ouer hardie: in suche wise that to the Duchesse of Vilalua,
succeeded the Lady Mary of Padilla. Alsiria complayneth of
their scandall Semiramis, Damascus for Mithridates, Armenia
for Pincia, Grecia for Helena, Germany for Vxodonia, Rome for
Agripina, Spaine for Hecuba, and now Castile complayneth not
that they are rayled for you, but that you haue raised them.
To quiet this Citty of Toledo where you are resident, neither
the

Famous
women.

the commandementes of the King is sufficiente, neyther the promises of the Governours, neither the siege of the Prioz John, neyther the threatnings of Sir Iohn de Ribora, neyther the intreatance of the Archbishop of Varry, neither perswasions of your brothers, neither yet prayers of the monasteries, but that every day moze and moze you are fleshed in warre, & lesse friend to peace. Also they report that you haue a sojceresse or rather a soile to your slaue, which is a great witch: and (they say) that she doth affirme and make you beleue, that ere it be long, you shall be magnified with the title of Grace, and your husband with the title highnesse, in such wise that you stande in great hope to succede the Quenes Maiestie, and your husband no lesse to succede the Kings highnesse: which I cannot beleue, nor lightly will beleue. But if by chance there be any thing, beware of the Diuell, and haue no confidence in spirits: for Ioseph did dreame that he should be Lord of his brethren, but he dreamed not that they should sell him into Egypt for a slaue. But it may be (considering the Deuill is so skilful and very subtil) he hath prognosticated vnto you the same that now you hold, the authoritie that your husband now possesseth, how the king should be absent, and Castile rise and be in rebellion: but on the other side, he hath hidden frō you how the communaltie shal be defaced, and how your selues shal be cast away. Zorastes that was inuentor of that art of magike, Democritus the Philosopher, Arthenius Captain of the bands, Pompeius Consul of the Romanes, Iulia the daughter of Iulius, and others infinite with them, gaue themselves to speake with Diuels, and to beleue much in dreames: which (as they beleued) if they were aline, would recount vnto vs the great deceypts the Diuell vsed with them here on earthe, and the great torments that they giue them there in hell. I did neuer see, neyther euer did read mā or womā to beleue in dreames, vse witchcrafts, deale with Magromancers, marke or studie in Augurise, practise with Enchantors, & incommende themselves to Magicians, that were not holden for light witted, and for euill Christians, for the Diuell with no man holdeth so straight

to straight friendship, to the end to aduise him, but to deceyue him. Also they make report of your Ladiship here, that you entred the bestorie of treasure house of Toledo, to fetch the plate that was there, not to the ende to renew it, but to pay your men of warre. The maner that you used in fetching the same hath not seemed here a little gracious, which is, that you entred kneeling, holding vp your hands, couered with blacke, striking your brest, weeping and sobbing, with two burning torches befoze you: Oh fortunat theft, oh glorious pillage, oh happie plate, since thou hast deserued to be stolne with so gret deuotion from that holy Church. Pen, when they steale doe feare, and wepe when they be hanged: the contrary is found in your Ladiship, since you wepe when you steale, I thinke you will laugh at execution. The Romanes to send a certaine present vnto the God Apollo in Delphos, all the Ladies and women of Rome gaue their collers from their neckes, theyz rings from their fingers, their bracelets from their armes, and also their eare rings from their eares: because they helde them better imployed to be given to their temples, than to weare them to their owne uses. Madame, God graunt that you be now a better Christian, than you would haue then bin a Romane: since you haue presumed to take the plate from the Church of Toledo, with an euill will would giue your gold to the temple of Apollo. To take from souldiours to giue to the Church, it passeth: but to take from the Church to giue vnto souldiours, is a thing very launderous and intollerable: in such wise as it was great sacrilodge to take it from wheres it was taken, and no lesse horrible to giue it where it was giuen. Humbly I beseech your Ladiship to cut off these euilles, leaue that people, open those gates, retire your husband, quiet your owne hart, giue witchcraft to the Deuil, and haue pitie on Toledo: for if other wise the affayres go on, as they haue begonne, we shall not want wherefoze to be wapte, and you shall haue to paye. From Medina del rio Seco, the sixtent of January. 1532.

A religious theft.

An Oration

An Oration made in the towne of Braxima, vnto the Knights and Gentlemen of the assembly, wherein the Author doth request them vnto peace in the name of the King.

An eloquent
perswasion.



Magnificent and extreme Gentlemen, I doe inuoke and call to witnesse the God that made me, and I do sweare by this holy temple that in all things that here I intende to speake, my intent is not to defame any man, and lesse to deceyue: because the religious habit wherewith I am clad, and the noble blood from whence I descend, giue no place that I should be of malicious entrailles, either double in wordes. Some of those that are here present do very well know my condicion and my conuersation: and also you doe knowe the libertie I vse to take in speaking franchly, and my bold plainnesse in preaching, and in the vse of lying very cold, and in reprehending absolute. Yesterday which was Pelu yeres day, I preached vnto the gouernours, and to all the mightie and noble men of the kingdome that was there with them. And so; that I did sharply say what was to be cut off, and in the kingdome to be amended: to day they haue commaunded me to come hither with this letter of credite and of safe conduct, to the ende I shoulde say vnto you wherein you erre, as I saide vnto them wherein they sayled. Also gentlemen I bring with me a large instruction firmed by the Cardinall, the Admirall, and the Constable, in which is confayned what worde the King doth sende you, and what they on his behalfe do offer: bycause his writing being sene, and my tale heard, from henceforth eyther cruell warre shal be determined, or a generall and godly peace concluded. In threene dayes I haue come hither to conferre with you seuen times: and bycause the gouernours will not any more commaund me to come hither, neyther in these affaires farther to trauell, it is necessary that this day we determine, and as friends or enemies to declare our selues: for other wise being
as you

as you are so neare together, of necessitie you must strike bat-
tell. I my Masters wil say what I thinke, and also wil speake
what is commaunded me, to the ende, that the one and the o-
ther being heard, you may vnderstand what you haue to an-
swere, and determine what you haue to doe. But first I haue
to complaine of your captaine Lares which toke me, and mis-
bied me both in wo:rd and dede, he knowing very well that a
mediato: passing from Campe to Campe, in all places is ac-
cused to go safe. There is no reason that Lares should carrie
me taken as a thiefe, and vse me with rudenes as a trayto:,
fo: I come in the kings name, and at the commaundement of
the gouernours, to bring peace and to auoyde warre, and be-
ides this, if I were one of the wo:ld, he would hold him selfe
right happie to be one of my seruants; but leauing this apart,
I will recite vnto you what I haue passed, and the hatrous
mishauces whereat I haue ben present. Since h king hath
bene absent, and h comonaltie rayled, (you may credit me in
all that I shall say vnto you, which I haue not deuined either
dreamed, but with my eyes haue seen it) you wel know of this
your comotyon the beginner was Hernando of Aualos, the cap-
taine sir Peter Ciron, the generall Iohn of Padilla, the counsellor
the licenciad Barnardine, the accessary the Doctor Sũga, the en-
seigne bearer Peter of Mercado, the chaplain the Abbot of Co-
plado, and the Metropolitain my Lo:ds bishop of Zamora: I was
present in Segouia at the first rising that was in this king-
dome, when vpon the first of May on a Wednesday after
Easter, they pulled out of the Charche of S. Mighell the Iu-
dice Tordissillas, & caried him to the gallowes, where they han-
ged him betwixt two hogges, as Iesus Christ was betwixt two
thieves.

I was present also in Auila, when all the p:ocurers of the
assembly were togred together in h vestry of the great Church
and there did al sweare to prosecute and die fo: the seruice of h
comonaltie, (except Antony Ponce & I that would not sweare)
whereupon commaundement was giuen to pul downe his
house, and that I shoulde departe from Auila. Also I was

The authors
of Rebellion.

Hard shiffes.

present in Medina del Campo the xij. of the moneth of August, on a tuesday in the morning; when Antony of Foñs seca came upon them in the breake of the day with big Calounes, and soz that they denyed him the kings artillery, he burnt the towne and the monastery of S. Francis. Also I was present there when the Bohereman Bobadilla did rise, and others with him, and threw out at the towne hall window, the Justice Nieto, and Aluete Telles the Bokebinder, and forthwith toke the house, placed posters, and entituled him selfe with grace and highnes, as though he had ben presently Lozde of Medina, o2 that the King of Castile had ben dead. I was present when Valiodolid firste rebelled in burning Medina, and al in armour went the whole night pulling down howses, haying soz their Captaine Veia y hit maker. Also I was in Valiodolid wth the Cardinalledde alway by the bridge, the President put him selfe into Saint Benets, the Licenciat Vergas skaped out at a window, the Licenciat Sapata we brought forth in Frriers habits vnto Sigales, and the Docto2 Guevara my brother was sent in the name of the Counsell vnto Flaunders: all the other lordes of the royall Counsel I did not see them when they were taken, but I sawe them afterwards prisoners, and nowe I see them fled, that they neyther dars assemble, o2 execute iustice. This other day I sawe in Soria where they hanged a Procurer of the ritle, being poore, sicke, and olde, not bycause he had committed any euill, but soz that some did with him euill. A report vnto you how they haue throwen the Constable out of Burgos, the Marques of Ania frō Tordissillas, & Earle and Countesse of Duncas, and the knights and gentlemen frō Salamanca, and Sir Iames of Mendoza from Palencia, and how in place of these gentlemen they haue taken soz their leaders and captaines, bitmakers, bohemers, skianers & lockmakers, is no smal shame to recount, and infamy to heare. The burts, murders, robberies, and scandals, that is nowe committed within this realme, I dare say, that of this so great fault we al are in fault, bycause our God is so right a iudge, that he would not permit that all should be chastised, if all were not offenders,

In broken
change.

offenders. The affairs of this miserable kingdome is come to
such a state, y^e through the same there is no way sure, no tēple
p^raisledged, none that tilletb the felds, none b^ringetb vitailles,
none y^e executeth iustice, none safe in their houses: yet all con-
fesse a king, and appeale to the king, but the disgrace is, that
none doth obserue the law, & none doth obey the King: helene
me, if your people did acknowledge the King, and obserue the
law, neyther would they robbe the kingdome, n^o disobey the
King: but for that they haue no feare of the sword, no doubt
of the gallies, they do what they lust, and not what they
ought. I knowe not how you can say, that you wil refo^rme
the kingdome, since you obey not the King, you consent to no
gouernours, you admit no royall counsell, you suffer no Chan-
celour, you haue no Judges n^o Justices, no giuing of sentence
in matters of lawe, neyther any euill chastised: in such wise,
that your iudgemēt to haue no iustice in the kingdome, is to
refo^rme iustice. I can not cōprehende how you wil refo^rme
this kingdome, since by your consent there is no subiect
that shall acknowledge a preacher, neither any p^runne that
keepe his cloyster, no f^rier that remayneth in his monaste-
ry, neyther womā that obeyeth hir husband, n^o bassall that
obserueth loyalty, neyther any man that dealeth iustly: in so
much that vnder the colour of liberty, euery man liueth at
his owne wil. I knowe not how you will refo^rme the common
welth, since those of your campe do force women, rauish may-
dens, burne villages, spoyle houses: scale whole flockes, cut
downe woods, and rob churches, in such wise, that if they leaue
any euill vndone, it is not bycause they dare not, but for
that they can not. I can not conceiue how you will refo^rme
the common welth, since by your occasion Toledo is risen, Se-
goia altered, Medina burned, Halaheios besieged, Burgos fortifi-
ed, Valiolid immutined, Salamanca stragled, Soria disobedi-
ent, and also Valentia an Apostata. I can not perceiue how
you will refo^rme the common welth, since Naiarza is rebel-
led against the Duke, Dueas against the Earle, Tordissillas a-
gainst the Marques, Chincon against his Loyde, since Auila,
Leon, Toro, Zamora, and Salamanca, doe neither more or

A miserable
state.

A wrong de-
uise to main-
taine a com-
mon wealth,

lesse than the assembly both commaund. So may my life prosper as I like of your commaund which is to witte, & the King be not absent out of this Realme, that he maintaine all men in iustice, that he suffer no money to be transported out of the Realme, that he giue his rewardes and offices vnto the natural subiectes of Spaine, that they denie not any new tributs, and aboue all, that the Offices be not sold, but giuen to men of most vertue.

These and such other like things you haue licence to craue, and only the King hath authoritie to graunt: but to demaund of princes with the lance, that which they haue to prouide by iustice, is not the part of good vassalles, but of illloyall seruaunts, we well vnderstand that many people of this land doe complaine of the new gouernement of Flemmings, and to speake the truth, that fault was not all theirs, but in their small experience, and our much enmie. Further, aduertising that the straungers were not moze to be blamed than our owne countrie men, they knew not the state of things, either what offices to craue, neither how they would be solde, but that they were aduised and also instructed in the skill thereof by the men of our owne nation, in such wise, that if in them there did abound desire of gain, in vs there did exceed the vice of cruell malice. Although Maister Xebes and the rest haue committed some fault, I know not that our Spaine hath done any offence, that you should in the same and against the same rayle any warre. The medicine that you haue indented for the remedie of this mischiefe, is not to purge but to kill. But since you will needs make war, let vs examine here against whom is this war: not against the king, because his tender youth dothe excuse him: not against the Counsell, for they appeare not: not against Xebes, for he is in Flanders, not against the Countreys which haue but nowe entred their offices: not against the Gentlemen, who haue not offended: neither yet against tyrantes, for the Kingdome was in peace: than is this war againe your owne countrie, and against our owne (lamentable) common wealth. The wante of prouidence

Mischiefe for
medicine.

in the king, neither the auarice of Xebes is sufficient cause that we should see that whiche we doe see, the people to rise against people, fathers against the sonnes, the vncles against their cousins, friends against friends, neighbours against neighbours, and brothers against brothers: but that our sinne hath so deserued to be chastised, and your s hath merited that you should be our scourge. Speaking more particular, you are not able to excuse your faulte, for beginning as you did the assemble of Auila, from which counsell all this warre hath had his seeding, and of a trowth presently I did diuine and also preache that is to witte, y neuer was Monipody of any kingdome, whereof did not arise some notable scandall. The kingdom is nowe altered, the kyng is disobeyed, the people are nowe risen, the hurt is alreadye begon, the fire is alreadye in flame, and the common wealth goeth sinking to the bottom. But in the ende, if it like you, a god end may be made, from whence may procede all the remedie, for that we haue firmly to beleue, that God will rather heare the hearts that praye for peace, than the lutes and drums that proclaim warre. If it may like you to forget some part of your anger, and the gouernours to lose some part of their right, I hold it all for finished. And to speake you the trowth, in popular and ciuil warres, men do rather fight for the opinion they haue take, than for the reason that they hold. My iudgement should be in this case, that you should ioyne with the Gouernours to talke and conferre for the græues and things amisse, and to vnderstand for the remedie therof: for by this meanes you should growe to more ripenesse for the things you haue to demaund, and in our king and maister more facilitie in that whiche he shoulde graunt. If it may please you to leaue your armour, and giue faith vnto my wordes, I sweare by the faith of a Christian, & by this letter of credence y I bring with me, do promise you that you shall be pardoned of the king, and well intreated of his gouernours: that you shal neuer for this deed be chastized, neither yet in wordes be blamed or defamed. And bicause it shall not seeme that your zeale hath bin in vaine, and that the

Gouernours do not desire the common wealth, I will here shew vnto you, what they wil do for the kingdome, and what kinnesse on his Maiesties behalfe they will bestowe vppon you, which is as followeth.

Large offers. First, they promise you, that at any time whē the kings Maiestie shall be absent from this kingdome, he shall place a Castilian to gouerne Castile: because the authoritie & greatnes of Spaine endureth not the gouernment of straungers. Also they promise you, that all the dignities, holdings, and offices of the kingdome and Court, shall be ginen to Spaniards, and not to straungers: notwithstanding there be many noble personages that haue well deserved and in whome they were well employed. Also they promise you that the royall rents of the people shall be rated at an indifferent rente, in such wise, that the Cities may haue reasonable gayne, and no greate losse to the king. Also they promise you that if in the regall counsell shal be found any examiner, or any other officer, (although it be the president) vnwise or vnapt for gouernement, and not learned to giue sentence, or not honest of ipse, that his maiestie shall absolute him of his office: notwithstanding they may be affectionate to some, and also offended like other men. Also they promise that from henceforth his Maiestie shall commaund his Iustices of Court and Chauncery, that they shall not vse their commaundements so absolute, neyther their chastisements so rigozous: notwithstanding that sometimes they be in some things fierce, because they may be more feared and also more esteemed. Also they promise, that from henceforth his Maiestie shall commaunde to refozme his house, and also remoue the excessive charges thereof: considering that disordinate expences bying forth newe tributes. Also they promise you, that for any neede the kings Maiestie may haue, he shall not carry, neither yet commaund to be carried any money out of this kingdome to be transported into Flaunders, Almayne, or Italy: considering that incontinent, trafficke decayeth in kingdomes where money wanteth. Also they promise that his Maiestie shall not permitte from hence

hencefoorth, Biscay Iron, Alum of Murcia. Vitallies of Andolozia, noz Sackes of Burgos, to be laden in straunge botoms, but in shippes of Biscay and Galizia, to the ende that straungers shall not robbe, and our Countrey men to gayne wherby to eate. Also they promise that his Maiestie shall not permit to be gyuen from hencefoorth, foytresse, Castell, brydge, gate, oz towne, but vnto Gentlemen plaine and curteous, and not vnto Gentlemen oz knights of power, whiche in renouing times may rise with the same: considering that in the ancient times none might haue Artilery oz Foytresse, but the King in Castile. Also they do promise you, that from hencefoorth his Maiestie shall not permitte licences to cary corne into Portingall, neyther from Mancha to Valentia: considering that many tymes to haue licence to transport thither, is here amongst our selues cause of greate dearth. Also with all breuitie his Maiestie wil commaund the contentions and matters in law to be examined and considered, that haue bene continued betwixt Toledo, and the Earle of Velalcastar, and Segovia, and sir Fernando Chichon, and of Iacn with the towne of Martos, and Valiodolid with Simancas, and that of sir Peter Giron with the Duke of Medina: considering that those in possession do delay, and the dispossessed complaine. Also they promise, that the King will commaund to refozme the excesses, giue lawe for banquets, refozme Monasteries, visit Chanceries, repayze forts, and foytifie all the frontiers: considering that in all these things there is necessitie of refozation and also of correction. If you my Masters bee suche as you publishe your selfe throughout Castile, whiche is to witte: that you bee the redemers of the Common wealth, and the restozers of the libertie of Castile: behold here we offer you the redemption, and also the resurrection thereof, because so many and so good thinges as these are, neyther did you remember to demaunde, eyther woulde presume to craue: nowe is the houre come wherein of necessitie it muste bee manifested, whither you speake and meane one thing. For if you desire the generall wealth now is it offered you, and if you

Withly per-
swaded,

pretend your particular interest, it may not be graunted you: for speaking the troth it is not iust, but most vniust, that with the sweate of the poyze common wealth you shoulde seeke to amend the state of your owne houses. But let it be for cōclusion since we be here in the Church of the towne of Braxima, of my part I do humbly beseeche you vpon my knees, and in the behalfe of the gouernours I doe request you, and on the Kings name I commaund you to leaue your armour, to dis-
camp your camp, and to vnsoztiffe Tordisillas: if not, I iustifie this offer for the gouernours, that all the euils, mischieues, and slaughters that hereafter shall happen in this kingdome be vpon the charge of your soules; and not vpon the burden of their conscience.

As I kneeled downe at the speaking of these last wordes, forthwith came vnto me Alonso of Quintanilla and Sarabia, bare headed and with great courtesie, did help me to rise and forced me to sitte downe. During the time I bidde speake all that is aforesaid, it was a thing to looke vpon, and wort hy consideration: how some of them did behold me, some did stampe, some did eye me, and also some did mocke me: but I neuer the moze did leaue to note, either say to speake. After I had finished my Oracion, they all with one voice said and desired the Bishop of Zamora to speake his iudgemente, and that afterwards they would all see what were conuenient to be done. Forthwith the Bishop toke me by the hand & in the name of the all, he said vnto me: Father frier Antony of Guenara, thou hast spoken sufficiently, and also for the authoritie of thy habite as a man ouer rash, but for that thou art a yong man and of small experience, neither knowest thou what thou speakest, eyther vnderstandest thou what thou demandest, eyther wast thou made a frier being a boy, or else thou art angry, or knowest little of this worlde, or thou wantest iudgement: since thou presumest to speake, & such things wouldest make vs beleue: but thou father (being stayd within thy monasterie) knowest not of tiranies whiche they execute in the kingdome, & that which the knights & noble me hath tiranised
of the

of the reall patrimonie, for whiche cause, thy entent shall be *A sharp re-*
 receyued, although thy wordes not belæued. I haue heard *prehension,*
 say, that thou arte rashe in thy speeche, and sharpe in repre-
 hendyng, and ioyntly therewith I did belæue (since the Go-
 uernours had thee in their cōpany) that thou hadst a good zele
 and no want of iudgemente, but since they suffer thy foolishne-
 nesse, it is not much that we endure thy wordes. God bathe
 bin thy good Lord that none of the captains of the warre hath
 bin present, for according to thy disordred talke whiche thou
 hast vsed, they woulde firste haue taken away thy life befoze
 thou mightest haue finished thy tale, & then it might be in oure
 hands to be fory, but not to remedie. When some other daye
 thou shalt talk in the presence of so great authoritie & grauitie *A friendly*
 as these are which be present, thou oughtest to be in that thou *aduisse.*
 shalt say very moderat, & in þe maner of thy speeche very much
 measured, bycause thy speeche hath bin rather to scandalize
 than to mitigate vs, for that thou pretendest to condemne vs
 and discharge the governours: and since we be but Captai-
 nes to execute and not iudges to determine: it is conuenient
 that thou giuest vs by wryting firmmed with thy hande al that
 thou hast sayd, and promised on the Kings behalfe: that we
 maye sende it to the Gentlemen of the holie assemblee, and
 there they shall see what they haue to commaunde vs, and to
 answere to thy ambassage: presently they sente a post to Tor-
 disillas, (so: there was the assemblee) with the credence that I
 brought, and with the talke I had vsed, whiche gaue for an-
 swere, that so colde a message, and suche disordred talk deser-
 ueth no other answere but to be wel reprehended, & also gre-
 uously punished. Presently they commaunded me to departe
 from the towne of Braxima without any letter, neyther any
 worde that I should say to the gouernours: except this Bishop
 þe said vnto me, Father Gueuara fare you wel, & beware you
 come not againe, for if you do, you shal returne no more: and
 say vnto your gouernours, that if they haue authoritie from
 the king to promise much, their cōmission extendeth to per-
 forme very little. This done and said, I returned to Medina.

del rio Secco euill vsed, and worse answered, and from thence after I had spoken & the Bishop answered me, warres was determined, and peace neuer moze spoken of. It was no small grieffe vnto Sir Peter Giron and Sir Peter Lasso of the foule woꝝbes they vsed with me, and of the euill aunswere their fellowship gaue me, soꝝ surely they would right gladly haue ben reduced to the Kings seruice, and that peace should haue bene established. Sir Peter Giron met me vpon the way when I retorne, and there conferred vpon such and so delicate things, whereof did rise that he retired from the Campe to Villalpandos, and that the gouernours should marche vnto Tordisillas, & so it was brought to passe. By that iourney the Quene was deliuered, and they of the assembly taken.

A letter vnto Doctor Melgar Phisicion, wherein is touched
(by great eloquence) the hurtes and profites that
Phisicions commit.



Right reuerent Doctor & Cæsars Phisicion, I haue receyued your letter, and the receipt that came therein: & whether I did speake or not speake vnto the President in your case, you may vnderstand by the dispatch thereof, & by the report of your seruant: in suche wise, that you haue perfoꝝmed with me like a Phisicion, and I with you like a friend. And whether you or I haue done best, it is to wit, you in curing of me, or I in dispatching of you, let god iudge, since I remaine with my golwte, & you haue obtained godd deliuerance. Sir I commaunded those hearbes to be sought, & the rotes to be gathered: and according to the tune of your billet, I haue gathered, stamp't & dranke them, and God giue your soule better health, than they did profite mee any thing soꝝ my goute, soꝝ they did inflame my liuer, & too much cole my stomacke. I wil confesse vnto you that as in this my disease you did not onely erre, but also you did hurt me: euery
time,

time, that with the cold my stomacke beginneth to belke, p283 Cruell prays
 sently I say, a shame be thine Doctor Melgar, since my disease
 was not aboue the girde, but from the thigh downe wards, I
 did not craue that you should purge the humors, but deliuer
 me from payne, I know not why you should chastise my sto-
 macke, my foote making the offence: I comoned with Doctor
 Sotto here in Toledo, as concerning a Sciatica I had in my thigh,
 & he comanded to be giue vnto me two Cautories with an hote
 instrument behind the eares, & the profite I gathered thereof
 was, he gaue all the Court occasion to laugh, and mine eares
 to endure great paine. And in Alcala I comoned with Doctor
 Carragema, and he did ordayne me a certaine receit wherein
 was contained the gal of an Dr, the ordure of a Rat, the hyan
 of Dtes, the leaues of nettles, the buddes of Rholes, and Scor-
 pions fried, to make a plaister to be layd vnto my thigh: The
 profite and greate ease I gathered thereof was, it kepte mee
 from sleepe thre nights, and I payde to the Apoticary that
 made it ten grotes: but from henceforth I renounce the coun-
 selles of sucche counsellors, the Aphorismos of Ipochras, the The authoꝝ
 fines or conclusions of Auicene, the cases of Ficino, the compo- of Physicke.
 sitions of Rasis, and also the Canons of Erophilo, if in their
 writings that wretched and cursed playster be to bee found,
 which as it did not suffer me to sleepe, much lesse to take any
 rest, I did not only take it away but also buried it, so that it
 did not onely stinke most filthily, but burned mee most grie-
 uously. I remember that in Borgos Anno 21. Doctor Sotto cu-
 red me of a certaine wandring feuer, made me eate so muche
 Apium, take so much Barley water, and drinke so much stild
 Endine, that I fel into such a thirst, that only I could not eat,
 neither so much as to abide & saue of meat. Not many yeeres
 after I wet to visit the same Doctor Sotto being sicke in Tor-
 disillas, and saw him eat an Orange, & drinke a cup of fragrant
 white wine after the cold had left him, and the heat began to
 come vpon him. Wherefoze I did not a little marvel, and half
 offended I sayde vnto him laughing: tell mee Master Doctor
 in what lawe is it contayned, or what Justice doth suffer it,
 that

that you cure your selfe of your Ague with wyne of S. Martin, and on the other side you cure my Sciatica with dung of oren: Ther vnto graciously he made me answere, your Lordship (Master Gueuara) hath to vnderstand, that our maister Ipo-chras hath giuen commaundement to all Physitions his successors, that vpon paine of his malediction we shoulde cure our selues with wine, and our pacientes with stilled water.

A tale tolde in
test, beleued in
earnest.

Although Doctor Soto tolde me this tale in iest, I did firmly beleue it, bicause you Master Doctor did once saye vnto mee in Madrid, that in all the days of your life, you neuer receiued compound purgation, either proued the tast of stilled water. Ther is no arte in this woꝛld that makes me lose the sirops (or to say better) my wits, but the maner that Physitions do vse to cure: For wee see them desirous to cure, and enemies to be cured. And bicause Master Doctor you wꝛite vnto me, also you sweare and conſure me, by the desire I wishe to the welfare of my father, that I wꝛite vnto you, what is my indgement of Physike, and what I haue read of the inuenter's birth & and first rising thereof. I will perſorme your request, although it be moze than others would wiſh, for it is a matter that the wise Physitions will delight in, but wher eſoze the ſolish will giue both you and me to the diuell.

Of the moſte auncient inuenter's of Physike and medicine.



If Plinie doe not deceyue vs, there is no arte of the ſeuē liberall Artes, wherein there is practiſed leſſe trouth, and whiche hath paſſed moze mutabilitie than the Arte of Medicine. Bicause there hath not bin kingdom, people, either notable natiō in this woꝛld, wher ſhe hath not bin receiued, and after entertaynment, againe thꝛowne out of the ſame. For if as ſhe is a medicine, ſhe were a man, immeſurable wer the trauels that ſhe wold repoꝛt that ſhe had ſuffered, and many and very many are the kingdoms that ſhe hath trauailed,

Great trauails
les that phy-
ſike hath paſt.

traveled, and prouinces that she hath wandred, not because they neglected to be cured, but for that they helde phisitions suspicious & to be doubted. The first that amongst the Grækes found the art of curing, was the Philosopher Apollo, and his Sonne Esculapius, which for being so famous in phisicke, they concurred vnto him, as vnto an Oracle throughout all Grecia, but the channce was thus. This Esculapius was but a yong man, and by greate mischaunce was slayne with lightning. And as he left no discipule that knew his secretes, neither that could make his medicines, the master and the Art of medicine ioyntly did perish. Four hundred and forty yeres was the Art of phisicke lost, in such wise, that in all the worlde there was not a man founde that did cure publikely, or was called phisition: for so many yeres passed from the time that Esculapius died, vntill the birth of Artaxerxes the second, in whose time Iochras was bozne, Strabo, Diodoro, & also Plini maketh mention of a woman of Grecia, that in those most aunciente times did flourish in the art of phisicke, of whome they recite so many monstrous things and so incredible, that to my iudgement they be al, or the moze part of thā sayned: for if they shuld be true, it seemed rather that she raysed the dead, than cured the sick. In these days there did rise in the prouinee of Achaia an other woman, that began to cure with psalmes and wordes, without applying any medicine simple or compound: whyche being knowne in Athens, was condemned by decre of the Senate to be stoned to death: saying, that the Gods, neyther nature, had giuen remedies for sicknesse in wordes, but in herbes and stones. In the dayes that they had no phisitions in Asia, the Grækes held for custome when any man had made experience of a medicine, and did heale with the same, he was bound to write it in a table, and to hang it vp in the temple of Diana, that was at Ephesus: for that in the like case any other might haue the same remedy. Trogos, Laertios and also Lactantius saith, that the cause where by the Grækes did sustayne themselves so long time without phisitions was, that in May they dyd gather sweete herbes whiche they kept in their houses: they

Phisick hath wandred many countreys

Phisicke betterly decayed the space four hundred yeres

Rules to be noted.

lucre

were let bloud once in the yeare, did bath once euery monthe, and also they did eate but once a day.

Confozmable to this Plutarch doth say, that Plato being de-
maunded by the philosophers of Athens, if he had seene any no-
table thing in Tinacria, which is now called Sicilia, made an-
swer, *vidi monstrum in natura, hominem bis saturum in die*, whiche is
to say, I did see a monster in mans nature which did fill o: sa-
tis himselfe twice in one day: he sayde thus by Dionysius the ty-
rant, which was the first that inuented to eate at none, and
afterwards to suppe at night: for in the olde worldes they did
vse to suppe but not to dine. I haue curiously considered, and
in great varietie of booke I haue sought, and that whiche I
found in this case is, that all the nations of this world did eate
at night, and onely the Hebrewes did feede at none: but follo-
wing our intent, it is to vnderstand, that the temple most es-
teemed in all Asia, was the Temple of Diana: the one cause
was, for that it was stateli of buildings, another, for that it
was serued with many Priests, but the most principall cause
was, for that the tables of Medicines were hanged there, to
cure the diseased. Strabo sayeth, that eleuen yeares after the
battells of Peloponneses, the great Philosopher Ipochras was
borne in a little Iland named Coe, in whiche also were borne
those glorious personages Licurgus and Brias, the one Cap-
taine of the Athenians, and the other Prince of the Lacedemo-
nians. Of this Ipochras it is written, that he was of small sta-
ture, somewhat poore blind, with a great head, of much silence,
paynefull in study, and aboue all, of a high and delicate iudge-
ment. From xviij. yeares vnto thirtie five, Ipochras continued
in the scholes of Athens studying Philosophie and reading,
and notwithstanding that in his time many Philosophers did
flourish, he was more famous, rehoumed, and esteemed, than
all the rest. After that Ipochras departed from the studies of A-
thenes, he wandred throughout diuers kingdomes and provin-
ces, inquiring and searching of all men and women, what
they did knowe of the properties and vertues of herbes and
planets, and what experience they had seene of them. At which
things

The place
whereas I-
pochras was
borne, and o-
ther famous
men.

things he did write and incommend vnto his memoire. Also Ipochras did search with most great diligence for other booke of Physicke, written by any other auncient Philosophers, and it is sayd that he found some written booke, in whiche they authours had written no medicine that they had made, but such as they had seene made.

The diligence of Ipochras.

Of the Kingdomes and Prouinces where
Phisitions were banished.



Twelue yeares Ipochras did travell in this peregrination, after which time he retired vnto the temple of Diana that was in Ephesus, and translated al the tables of medicines, and experiments that were there preserved many yeares, he put in order all that was before confused, and added many things that he had founde out, and other things that he had experimented. This Philosopher Ipochras, is Prince of all Phisitions in the world, for he was first that tooke penne to write and to put Physicke in order.

Also it is sayd of him, y he never made error in that he pronounced, either in any disease he tooke in cure. Ipochras dyd give counsel to Phisitions, that they should neuer take in hand to cure anye disordered patient, and did counsell the sicke to shunne the vnforsunate Phisition: for (sayth he) he that cureth may not erre, where the patient is of good gouernment, and the Phisition fortunate.

The Philosopher Ipochras being dead, for that his disciples began to cure, or to say moze truly, to kill many sicke people of Grecia, (for that y science was very new, and the experience muche lesse) it was commaunded by the Senate of Athenes, not only that they shoulde not cure, but also depart out of all Grecia. After that the disciples of Ipochras were thrust out of Grecia, the art of Physicke was banished and forgotten an hundred and threescore yeres, so as none durst to learn, and much lesse to teache the same: for the Grækes had their Ipochras in such estimation, that they affirmed that Physicke was borne and

Phisitions banished out of all Greece.

and buried with him. Those hundred and threescore yeres being past, another Philosopher and physician was borne named Chrisippus, in the kingdome of the Sicionians, whiche was as renowned amongst the Argives, as Ipochras amongst the Athenians. This Philosopher Chrisippus, although he were very well learned in Physicke, and very fortunate in the experience thereof, of the other part he was much opinionative and of presuming iudgement: for all the time of his life & lecture, and in all his booke that he did write, his purpose was none other, but to impugne Ipochras in all that he had said, and only to proue most true that which he affirmed, in suche wise, that he was the first Physician that pulled medicine out of reason, and put it in opinion. The Philosopher Chrisippus being dead, there was great alteration amongst the Greeces, whiche of the two doctrines they should follow, whiche is to wit, that of Ipochras or of Chrisippus, and in the end it was determined that neither the one should be followed, or the other admitted: for they sayd, that neyther life nor hono: ought to be put in dispensation. After this the Greeces remayned an other hundred yeres without Physician, untill the time of one Aristrato a philosopher which did rise amongst them. He was cousin to a great philosopher Aristotle, and was resident in the kingdome of Macedonia, where he of new did exalt the art of Physicke, not for that he was more learned than his predecessors, but for that he was more fortunate than all the rest. This Aristrato recovered same by curing king Antiochus the firste, of a certayne disease of the sight, in reward whereof the yong prince his son that was named Ptolemus did give a thousande Talents of silver, and a cup of golde, in such wise, that he wan hono: throughout all Asia, and riches for his house. This Philosopher Aristrato, was he that most defamed the art of Physicke, because he was the first that set Physicke asale and began to cure for money, for untill this time all physicians did cure, some for friendship, and some for charitie. The Physician Aristratus being dead, ther succeeded him certaine his disciples, more covetous than wise: which for that they gave themselves to be more handsome

*
Another hundred yeres
physick banished out of
Greece.

An exceeding
reward.

Aristrato
was he that most defamed
the art of Physicke, because
he was the first that set
Physicke asale and began to
cure for money.

men of their money, than to cure diseases, they were com-
maunded by the Senat of Athens, that they should not pre-
sume to teach phisicke, much lesse to cure any person.

The first phi-
sition that cu-
red for mony.

Of other trauels that Phisick did passe.

A other hundred yeres in Asia was phisick forgotten, till
the time that Euerides was rayled in the kingdome of
Tinnacia, but so; that he and another phisition did vary vpon
the curing of king Crisippus (the which at that time raigned
in that Ile) it was determined by those of the kingdome, that
they should only cure with simple medicines, and not pre-
sume to mixe or make compositions. Longtime the kingdome
of Sicill continued, and also the greater part of Asia, without
the knowledge of the art of medicine, vntill the time that in
the Ile of Rhodes there remayned a certain notable phisition
and philosopher named Herosilo, a man that was in his time
very learned in phisick, and very skilfull in Astrology, Ma-
ny do say that this Herosilus was master to Prolomeus, and
others say y he was not, but his disciple: but be it as he may,
he leste many bookes witten of Astrology, and taught many
scholars also. This Herosilus held opinion, that the pulse of
the patient ought not to be taken in the arme, but in the tem-
ples, saying: that there neuer wanted that, which in the arme
was sometime hidden. This phisition Herosilus was of suche
authoritie amongst the Rhodians, that they held this opinion,
to take the poulse in the temples, all the dayes of his life,
and also the liues of his scholars, who with his scholars
being all dead, the opinion toke an end, although it were not
forgotten. Herosilus being deade, the Rhodians would ne-
uer more be cured, neither admit any other phisition in their
countrie: the one cause, was not to offend the authoritie of
their philosopher Herosilus: and the other, so; that natural-
ly they were enemies vnto straunge people, and also no
friendes of newe opinions. This being past, phisicke fell a-
leepe other .iiii. scoze yeres, as wel in Asia as in Europa, vntill

Phisick be-
ingt another
C. yeres.

Nora

X

In foure hund:
red yeares,
Rome refer-
ued no Phis-
itions.

the great philosopher & phisition Asclepiades was rayled in the
Ilande Micilne: A man sufficiently well learned, and most ex-
cellent in curing. This Asclepiades helde opinion, that the
pulse ought not to be sought in the arme (as now they sake)
but in the temples, or in the nose. This opinion was not so
farre besides reason, but that long time after him, the phis-
itions of Rome and also of Asia did entertaine the same. In
all these times it was not read that any phisition was bozne
in Rome, or came into Italy: so the Romanes were the last of
this world that did entertaine Clockes, Jesters, Barbarz, &
Phisitions. foure hundred. iij. yeares and ten months, the
great city of Rome did passe, without the entertayning of any
Phisition or Chirurgian. The first that hath ben read to
haue entred Rome, was one that was named Antony Musa,
a Greeke bozne, and in science a Phisition. The cause of his
comming thither was, the disease of Sciarica, that the Emperoz
Augustus had in his thigh: the which when Antony Musa had
cured, and therof wholly deliuered him, in remuneration of
so great a benefite, the Romanes did erect vnto him a picture of
Porphiry in the feld of Mars, and farther and besides this, did
giue him priuiledge of citizen of Rome. Antony Musa had ga-
thered exceeding great riches, & also obtained the renoume of
a great Philosopher, if with the same he could haue bene con-
tented, and not to haue exceeded his Art of phisick: but this was
the chance of his sorrowfull fate. Giuing him selfe to cure by
Chirurgery, as also by medicine, it is some time necessary in
that Art to cut of fete, or fingers, and to make incisions: the
Romanes being not bled to behold such cruelties, and to suf-
fer so intolerable grieues, in one day and in one houre they
stoned him to death, & drew him al abouts in the streates. Fro
the time they stoned this miserable Antony Musa, they consen-
ted not to haue any Phisition or Chirurgian in all Italy, untill
the time of the wicked Emperour Nero, which at his returne
from Grecia, brought vnto Rome many phisitions, and also
many vices. In the times of the Empire of Nero, Galba, Octo,
and Bixello, phisicke did much flourish in Italy, and the phisiti-
ons

Nero
brought from
Greece vices
and phisitions.

ons did greatly triumph in Rome: but after the death of these Princes, the good Emperour Titus commaunded the Orators and also the phisitions to be driven out of Rome. The Emperour Titus being demanded why he did banish them, since the one were advocates for matters in lawe, and the other did cure the diseased: he made answer: I banish the Orators, as destroyers of the customes, and also phisitions as enemies to health. And more he said, I do also banish the phisitions to take away the occasions from men that be vicious, for that we see by experience, in the Cities where phisitions be resident, there is alwaies abundance of vices.

Phisitions
banished by
Titus the
Emperour.

A letter written from Grecia to Rome, wishing them to beware of the Phisitions that were come thither.



The great Cario of Utica was no small enemy to all phisitions of this world, specially that they should not enter within the Empire of Rome, who from Asia did write a letter unto his sonne Marcellus that was in Rome, after this manner. In thee and in me it appeareth

Cario an enemy of
Phisitions.

most clearely, that more is the love that a father beareth unto the son, than a son unto the father: since thou forgettest thy self to write unto me, neither yet to provide for defence of thy necessities. If thou wilt not write unto me as to thy father, write unto me as unto thy friend: notwithstanding it is much more which thou owest unto my hoare haire, and also unto my good & friendly works. As concerning thy rest, my son Marcellus, thou knowest that I have ben resident a Consull here in Asia five yeres, of which the most time I have continued here in Athens, where all Grecia do hold their notable studies of their renowned Philosophers, and if thou wilt understand what I conceive of these Greekes, it is, they speake much and performe little, they call all men barbarous, and onely themselves Philosophers: and the worst of all is, they be ready friends to give counsell unto all men, & enemies to accept the

A. G.

same

same, iniuries they know to dissemble, but neuer to pardon: they be very constant in hatred, and very mutable in love and friendship. Finally my son Marcellus I say vnto thee, that naturally, they be proud to command, and vntamable to seruice. Behold here what in Grecia the Philosophers do reade and teach, and what the popular people do learne: and if I do write vnto thee, it is, for that thou shalt not paine thy selfe to come into Grecia, neither to passe thy thought to leaue Italy. Since thou knowest and also dost vnderstand, that the grauitie of our Mother Rome, neither may suffer youthfully wantonnes, neither admit nouelties. That day that the fathers of our sacred Senate shall permit the Artes and letters of Grecia to enter Rome, from that day I hold our common wealth as lost: for our Romanes do esteeme and make accompt to liue well, and the Greekes but only to speak well. In those kingdomes and Cities where scholes and studies be wel ordered, and on the other part their common wealthes euill gouerned, notwithstanding we see them flourish, very shortly we shall see them famish, for there is not in al this whole world any thing that iustly may be termed perpetuall, but that which vpon truth, and vertue is founded. Although al the arts of Grecia be suspicious, pernicious & scandalous, yet I say to thee my son Marcellus, for the commonwealth of our Mother Rome, the worst of them all is phisicke, for that all these Greekes haue sworn to send to kill by medicine those which they might not overcome by armes. Every day I see here these phisick Philosophers holde amongst themselves great altercations, about the curing of infirmities and the applying of certaine medicines: and that which is most to be wondered, that doing what the one commaundeth, and the other counselleth, we see the patient cruelly tormented, and sometimes finish his dayes: in such wise, that their question riseth, not how they shall cure him but how with medicines they may kill him. My son Marcellus, thou shalt aduise the fathers of the Senat, if they bring thither w. phisicke philosophers which be departed hence out of Grecia, that they suffer them not to read or teache phisicke, either:

either to cure in the common welth: bycause this art of medicine is so perillous to be exercised, and so delicate to be understood, that there be many that do learne, and very few that do know it.

Of seauen notable benefices that proceedeth from the good Physicion.

BEhold here maister Doctor, the beginning of your Physick declared, and how it was found, how it was compiled, how it was lost, how it was banished, how it was received, and also how it is now fully the went wandring from common welth to common welth. Maister Doctor, by your letter you also craue of me, that I write vnto you, not onely what I haue read of Physick; but also my iudgment therof: whiche I will accomplish to do you pleasure, and also for that it may be sicke, how much profite riseth from the good Physicion; and what it is from the euill. Medicine is to be praised, bycause the maker of all things did create the same for the remedie of his creatures; giuing vertue to waters, plantes, herbs, stones, yells in woodes, to the end that with all these things might be cured, and with their health serue him. God is mercifull to the patient which the sicke manne bleth, but much more with the patience, charitie, and hospitalitie which he sheweth to the sicke manne. It is a thing religious and also necessary to procure bodily health, and to serue God; for if the sicke man haue good desires his woorkes be healt, but be that is whole, sound, and vertuous; hath god bequeathed vnto him, and also notable woorkes. Medicine is to be praised, when it is in the hands of a Physicion which is learned, of good will, stayed, and of experience; for such a Physicion with his science that vnderstandeth the nature of his patients sicke his medicine; and with his great experience knoweth what to employ the same.

Medicine is to be praised, when the Physicion bleth not the same but in sharpe diseases that be very perillous; which

Nota

The censur of
praise of phis
icke.

is to wit, for the Pluresy, Squinancy, Inflammation, sharpe Fe-
uer, or Apoplexie: bycause in cases so dangerous, and in
perils so perillous, all things for health is to be provided,
and the Physition in all things to be credited.

Physick is to be praised, when the Physition is so wise, that
he doth heate a great repletion or heat of bloud, by washing
the megrim with a fume, a griefe of the stomake with a sac-
ket: a heate of the liuer with an oymntment: bleared eyes with
colde waters: a consumption of the belly with a Clister: and a
plaine Feuer with good diet.

Physicke is to be praised, when I shal see the Physition that
sureth, profite moze with simple medicines that nature hath
created, than with compounds which Ipoctras hath inuented:
in such wise, that having power to cure me with cleare water,
he sojce me not to drinke stilled Endine.

Medicine is to be praised, when the physition is expert, that
knoweth the times to be considered in a sickeman, that is to
wit: when they haue their beginning, increasing, and also
their declinations, ordering the rule and regimen according to
the disease: and the estate thereof: travelling to know the com-
plexion of his patient, inquiring his estate past, and in-
quiring also what may happen in time to come, giving ad-
vice for the case present, alwaies having regard to the strength
and puissance of the patient.

Physick is commendable, when the physition seeth a sick
man in great perill, and stricken with a doubtful sickness,
doth desire that they shal call an other unto him, (and more if
the patient desire) vpon such condicio, that euery one of the
giue themselves to studie or to consult: for the recovery of
health, & not that they prepare to argue and contend. The phy-
sition that with these conditions doth bee, do cure, we may
safely call and put our trust in him: and also without question
pay him: bycause the effect of physicks consisteth in beneuolence
to vnderstand the griefe, and experience to minister.

Of nine pernicious euilles that Phisitions doe commit.



I lament me vnto you Maister Doctor of many filthy Phisitions, idiots, rashe, and vnerpert, which hauing heard a little of Auicene, or soz that they haue bene residēt at Gadulope, or seruantes to the Quenes Doctors, they transpōrteth inselues to the vniuersitie of Merida, or else with a rescript from Rome, they take degree of Bachelers, Licentiates, and Doctors, of whō the olde prouerbe may iustly take place, which saith, Phisitions of Valence, long robes and small science.

I complaine me vnto you Maister Doctor of many common phisitions and interpret, the whiche if they take in hand any strange or perillous diseases, after they haue purged the sorrowfull patient, let him bloud, oynted, & giuen him Sirope, they know not to apply any other remedie, either practise any other experience, but to commande him after supper, to receiue a ruleste prepared, and in the mornings tisan clarified. I complaine me vnto you Maister Doctor, of many yong and chylidish phisitions, and without iudgement, which to an hurt that is simple, ordinarie, common, not furious, neither dangerous, they make their receiptes as large and deepe frō the Apotizarie, as if it were an inflamed pestilence, in suche wise, that it shall be lesse hurt vnto the sorrowfull patient to endure the euill he possesseth, than to abide the remedie that such prouide.

I complaine me vnto you Maister Doctor, of many of your companions that presume of learning, and (of trouth they be vnderstand) which doe neuer cure, as with simple medicines, bitter you minister vnto vs, that which is plain, gentle and not furious: but to giue vs so, vnderstand, that they knowe that which others knowe not, they make their receiptes of things so strange and out of vse, that at the present they be very difficult to be founde, and afterwarde moze difficult to be receiued.

I complaine me vnto you maister Doctor, of many of your seruantes and doltish batchelers, in consideration y^e a^y infirmities hauing their chyeticke or determinatiue dayes, going frō day to day making their course, that they haue no care to consider therof, and much lesse to reckon on what daye the disease began, either the houre wherein the accesse did firste offend, to behold whether the disease goeth increasing or diminishing: bycause to applie or minister a medicine in one houre, or in an other, there dependeth no more but the life of the man.

I complaine me vnto you maister Doctor, that generally all you that be Physicians, doe with eche other euill, being different in condition, and contrary in opinions, wherein it appeareth most cleare, that some fellows Ipochras, some Auices, some Galen, some Rasis, some the Counseller, some Ficins, and other some none at al, but theirown iudgemēt, & that which is most to be lamented, is, that all the mischief lieth not but vpon the sorrowfull patient, bycause at the time you should cure him, you giue your selues to disputing.

I complaine me vnto you maister Doctor, of many physicians that be childish in age, new in office, rude in iudgemēt, and not well stayed in their wittes, which in any experience that they haue saene, read, or heard, be it neuer so difficult to be done, or perillous to make, presently they commaunde it to be perfourmed, although it be not requisite but hurtful to the disease, wherof speaketh in any tyme that one foolish expectation doth cost the sick mans life.

I complaine me vnto you, and also of you maister Doctor, that generally all you Physicians doe make your receites for such things as you commaunde vs to take, in darke latin, in blind cypherings, and in termes vniuersed, with great and large receyptes, which I knowe not wherofore nor to what end you vse it for: if it be euill that you commaund, you ought not to doe it, and if it be good, let vs vnderstande it for that we, and not you, must take them, and also paye the Apothecaries for them.

The

The Authors judgement of Physick.

Behold here muste I shew delicately touched, not onely the
 commodities that good Physitions do performe, but also the
 great hurts that the evill Physitions do commit. And firste
 the troth for my parte I do beleue it, that notwithstandyng my
 complayntes be many, your faultes be much more sinne to the
 cost of our liues you wound greatese, and obtayne greatese
 wealth. With the rule and Lordship of the Physition no ma-
 ny compare, for at the instant they enter our doore, we do not
 onely put the in trust with one persons, but also we part with
 them our substance, in such wise that if the barber doo to forty
 shyls ounces from the balme of the head, they doo to fiftie ten
 from the balme of the chest. After the charitable exercise of
 almes giving, ther is nothing better imployed than that which
 is given to the Physition that hapneth to performe her cure, &
 on the other part, there is nothing in this worlde so evill spent,
 as that whiche the Physition getteth that stretcheth in his cure,
 which doth deserue not onely to be vnpayde, but also for so many
 to be well chastised. It was a law much used, and also a long
 time observed amongst the Gothes, that the sick man and the
 Physition bermynt therein made bargayne, the one to cure, and
 the other to pay, and if by chance he did not cure according to
 his promise and band, in such a case the law commanded that
 the Physition should lose the reuall of his cure, and also pay
 for the Apotary. I am sure you shal see I doo, that this lawe of
 the Gothes was observed withall once sayed, that you and
 your companions would give your selues more to studie, and
 would be better availed in the things you shold take in hand,
 but for that you be very well payde whether the patient be cu-
 red or not cured, and if he happen to perlose the cure, you ac-
 tribute the glory unto your selues, but if not, you lay all the
 faulte in the poore patient. This appeareth most cleare, for cu-
 monly you charge the patient that either he is a glutton, drink-
 eth much water, eateth much frute, sleepes at night, doth not
 receyve that he is commanded, takes too much ayre, or doth

The rule and
 Lordship of
 the Physition

A law amongst
 the Gothes.

A sentence of
Ipochras.

Not endure to sweate: in such wise that the sorrowfull patient
which they cannot cure, they do not forget to defame. It se-
meth not a little gracious unto me, that which your Ipochras
affirmeth, whiche is, that the Physitian is not to be esteemed,
that of himselfe is not well fortunate: whereof we may inferre
that all our life and health doth depende not in your medicines
that you minister unto us, but in the fortune good or bad, that
the Physitian holdeth. He seemeth to have small confidence in
Physicke, that durst publish such a sentence: for if we stay our
selues by this rule of Ipochras, we must die the wise Physitian
that is ill fortunate, and secke to be cured with him that is un-
wise and fortunate. In the yere of your I being sick in Osor-
villo, whiche is a town unto your house of Melgar, comming to
visite me, you sayd that I had to consider, for that you had kil-
led Sir Lachon mine Uncle, Sir Beluon my Father, Sir James
my cosyn, and the Lady Ynes my sister, and that if I had a
mind to enter into that brotherhood, you would rather under-
take to kill me, than to cure me: although Master Doctor, you
spake it in jest, yet in dede it was most true: for whiche cause
since I heard you speake it, and read that rule of Ipochras, I
determined in my heart never more to offer my pulse, neither
incommend my health unto your counsell, because in my li-
nage of Guevara your medicine is unfortunate. Of many fa-
mous phisitions I have seene performed diuers famous cures,
and of many foolish Physitions, I have seene brought to passe
many and great dolefull collics. I speak it for this cause Master
Doctor, for in the hands of the Spiller we lose but our meale,
in the ~~affliction~~ but our soule, in the Lawyer but our goods, in
the Tayler but our garment, but in the hands of the Physitian
we lose our life. Whiche great needfull ought he to haue, &
how convenient it is for him first to consider, that at his mouth
hath to receiue a purgation, as to consent that in his armes
they let him bleed, for many times it hath hapen that the sick
would giue all that he hath to be deliuered of his purgation, as
to recouer his blood into his armes. In this whole world there be no men of more health than
such

They as be of good government, and seek not to follow phisick: for our nature craved to be well ruled, and very little to understand with phisicke. The Emperour Aurelius died of the age of thye & seore and five yeares, in al which time he was neuer purged wth let blood, neyther did use phisicke, but every yeare he entred the Bath, every moneth he did homit, every week he did so: heare to eat one day, & every day he walked one houre. The Emperour Adrian, so that in his youth he was greedy in feeding, and disordered in drinking, he came to bee in his age much grained and sickly of the gout, with greave paine in the head, whereby he went ever laden with phisicke: and of great experience of many medicines. If any man be desirous to live wth the profit he found by phisicke, and the remedie he receyved by phisitions, he may safely understand in that at the houre of his death he commaunded these wordes to be engraven upon his tombe, *perjurum medicorum*, as if he should speake more cleare, mine enemies having no power to kill me, am come to die by the hands of phisitions. They report a certain thing of the Emperour Galienus, of a roth worthy to be noted, and gracious in hearing, to withe is, that the Prince being sicke and very evil of a Sciatica, a certayne famous phisition had the cure of him, which had used a thousand experiments without any ease or profit: on a certayn day the Emperour called and said unto him, take Fabius the thousandth letter of the alphabet, and send him, that shal give them, it is not for me to be so hard: send him, but for that thou shalbe never more defeated: send him. Lo how many phisitions might we have had that shoulde have done as the Emperour Galienus sayd unto his phisition Fabius: which although there he not named Fabius, yet a good man, two dayes learned him. Debates for they might be more to the purpose that offendeth the disease, rather much to the phisition necessary or convenient any thing. As God shal send another Doctor, for my part I do absolutely beleve, that it shoulde be sounder counsel for us, for no cause to pay the ignorant phisitions (to the end they shal not cure us) than for that they shoulde advise us to take us for us: surely for with our

The Emperour
four Doctors
opinion of
Phisitions.

A notable reward in the place of punishment.

ded the Lacedemonians that they should not marrie vntill the age of xxx. The Philosopher Promotheus commaunded the Egyptians that they shuld not marrie vntill the age of xxx. yerres. And if by chaunce any durst marry befoze the appoynted age, the fathers were publikely chastised, and the childzen not holden for legitimat. If Mosen Puche and the Lady Mary Gralla iwer of Egypt (as they be of Valencia) they could not escape unpunished, and also their childzen disinherited.

For the great curtesy that I haue receyued of your mother, and for the entire amity and perfect loue I held with your father, in the time I was Inquisitor at Valencia: it grieueth me to see you married in so tender yerres, and laden with so greates a charge: for so great a burden is matrimonie, as you neyther may haue licence to leane it, eyther haue you age to suffer and support it. If your father did marry you of him selfe without consent, he vsed with you no small crueltie: and if you married without licence, you haue committed no lesse rashnesse. For a yong man of xvj. and a yong woman of xv. to dare set vp house, their pædes declareth great temeritie, and want of good counsell in the consent thereof: for the poore yonglings, neyther do they know the burden they take in hand, eyther seele the liberty that they lose. Let vs vnderstand what conditions the wife ought to haue, and what conditions the husbände must hold in possession, to the end they may be happily married: and if it be founde in Mosen Puche, and in the Lady Mary Gralla, from henceforth I confirme and ratify their marriage, and condemne my selfe to haue spoken without skil. The properties due to a married wife is, that she haue gravity when she walketh abroad, wisdom to gouerne hir house, patience to suffer hir husband, loue to bære and bringing vp hir childzen, affable with hir neighbours, diligence to lay vp and to haue goodes accomplished in things appertayning to honour, a friend of honest company, and a great enemy of wanton and light toyes.

The properties appertayning to the married husbād is, to be reposed in his speech, milde of cōuersation, faithfull wherein he is.

X

Nota

The conditions of the happily married.

X

I note for the married.

he is trusted, wise wherein he giueth counsell, careful for the
 promise of his house, diligent in the ordering of his goods, of
 sufferance for the importunities of his wife, zealous in bring-
 ing up of his children, advised in things of honor, and a sure
 man with all men that he dealeth. But now demanding an-
 swer, if in the xvij. verses of Mosen Puche, and in the xv. verses
 of Lady Mary Gralla, we shall finde all that we haue sayde, or
 that euer they thought thereof. In men of so tender years, and
 married so yong, it is to be suspected, that such and so delicate
 things, neyther do they knowe to vnderstande when they bee
 told them, neyther yet being wanting to aske for them: but I
 answer and also prophesy vnto the xvij. verses of Mosen Pu-
 che, & to the xv. verses of the Lady Mary Gralla, that if they will
 not learne all these properties, and after their learning ob-
 serue them, that in a little further processe of time, they with
 their burden shall fall to the ground, or else eyther of the sake
 netwe loue. I hold it not for so waighty to be admitted a novice
 frier, as a yong man to be married, for the one may refuse and
 come forth, and the other may not repent. The incommodi-
 ties that do follow the marriage of xvij. with xv. Mosen Puche
 and the Lady Mary Gralla can moze effectually declare, than I
 can write. For if I say ought, it is by gesse, but they maye as-
 firme it as feeling witnesses. For men to marry themselves
 very yong, there followeth great hurtes: whiche is to vnder-
 stande, their wiues are broken and spoyled in their child bed,
 weaken their strength, laden with children, spend their patri-
 monie, some moued to ielousy, not comprehending what ap-
 pertayneth to honor, they vnderstande not to provide for the
 household: the first lones finishe, and new cares appoche, in
 such wise, for marrying them selues so yong, they come af-
 terwards to line discontented, or else to be separated in theyr
 old age. The diuine Plato gaue counsel to his commō wealth,
 that they should marrie their children in suche an age, where-
 in they shoulde vnderstande what they did chōse, and very
 well perceyue what they toke in hande. Graue and very
 graue is this sentence of Plato, for to take a wife, or to chōse a
 husband

I graue sen-
 tence of Pla-
 to.

husband is no hard thing, but to vnderstande to sustayne an household is very difficult. I haue not bene married, neyther haue had any motion to be married, but soz as much as I haue seene amongst my kinred, and haue read in booke, by that I haue suspected of my neighbours, and by which I haue hearde of my friends, I find by my reckoning, that those that chaunce to be well married, haue here their Paradise, and such as haue had worse chaunce, of their house they haue made an hell.

What man to thys day, that hath matched with a woman of such perfection, that wished not in hir some things to be amended? What woman hath chosen a husbände so accomplished, that found not in him some thing to be disliked?

In the first view of wotwers & of their contraction few marriages be displeasent, but in pzoecs of time few things be liked, and that which is most certaine being in want, and money spent, incontinent without delay, displeasures knocks at gate. Oh sozowful married man, if thou marry with a gentle woman, thou must beare with hir pomp and follie: If thou encounter with a woman that is mild and wise, thou must accept hir pouertie: if thou match with one that is riche, it may happen thee to be ashamed of hir kinred: if thou chose thee a wife that is fayze, thou hast mischaunce sufficient to watche hir: if it be thy chaunce to obtayne a wife that is soule, after fewe dayes thou wilt shunne thy house, and also seeke newe lodging: if thou boast thy selfe that thy wife is wise, and of godly perionage, also thou complaynest that she is costly and no housekeeper: if thou say of thy selfe that thy wife is a good huswife, sozthwith it is repozted that no seruant may endure hir fierce crueltie: if thou doest gloze that thy wife is honest and chaste, many times thou doest abhoze hir soz that she is to much ielouse: what wilt thou that I say moze? Oh thou poze married man, that which I speake, besides that is spoke, is: If thou shut thy wife within doores she neuer ceaseth to complayne: if thou giue hir leane to walke at libertie, she geueth occasion soz thy neighbours to talke, and thy selfe to suspect:

The travels
of the married
man.

Nota

spect, and if thou do much chide, she goeth always with a crooked countenance: & if thou say nothing, none may endure hir: if thy dispence be in hir disposition, she stoocke goeth to wack: if the laying out be in thine owne hands beware thy purse of secret sale of thy godes: if thou keepe thee much at home, she thinks thee suspicious: and if thou come late home, she will say that thou hast wander: and if thou give hir good garmentes she must go forth to be seene, if she be not well apparelled thou art bidden to an euill supper: if thou shewe thy selfe louing she esteemeth thee little, if thou be negligent therein, she suspecteth thee to be in loue els where: if thou denie what she craueth, she neuer ceaseth to be importunate: & finally if thou vnto hir discouer any secret, she cannot but publish it: behold here the reason, and also the occasion wherefoze, if in the common wealth there be ten well married, there be a hundred that be litle abhozred and in repentaunce, which presently would depart from their wiues, house and chamber, if they could finish with the Church, as they can perfozme with their conscience. If matrimony amongst Christians were as it is amongst the Gentiles to be diuozced at euery mans liking, I sweare there would be moze halt to the lent of diuozcement, than to all the rest of the yeare to be married.

That no man do marry but with his equall.

The rules and counsels that I will giue here vnto those that are to be married, and also vnto such as be already married: if they be not profitable to liue contented, at the least they shall serue them to auoyde many displeasures. The first holesome counsell is to vnderstande, that the woman chuse such a man, and the man such a woman, that there be equalitie both in blood and in estate: whiche is to witte: the knight with the knight, the merchant with the merchant, the squier with the squier, and the ploughman with the ploughman: for if herein there be disconfortitie, the moze hase

Equalitie betwixt the married very necessary.

hale shal liue most discontented, and the tither of moze moztly
 degre very much repentant. The marchaunt that marieth
 his daughter vnto a knight, and the riche ploughman that
 taketh a man of worship vnto his sonne in lawe: I do say and
 affirme, that they bying into their house a proclaymer of their
 infamie, a certaine moth for their garments, a tormenter of
 their fame, and also a shopner of their liues. In an euill houre
 hath he married his sonne or daughter, that hath brought into
 his house such a sonne in lawe, or daughter in lawe, that is a-
 shamed to name him father, whose daughter or sonne he or
 she hath married: in such mariadges it can not truely be said
 that they haue brought to house a son, but a Denill: a daughter
 but a Snake: not to serue but to offend: not children but ba-
 nishes: not to honour him, but defame him. Finally I say, that
 he that marieth not his daughter with his equall, shall finde
 it lesse euill to burie than to marie hir: for if she die, they shall
 bewaile hir but one day, but to be euill married, is to bewaile
 hir many yeares. The rich marchant, the poore squier, the
 wise plough man, and the good townlike craftes man, needes
 no daughter in lawe that can frill and paint hir selfe, but such
 as he shal full very well to spinne: for that day that such men
 shall presume to haue in vze the carpet and pillow, that
 day they spoyle their house, and their goods sinketh to the
 bottome.

I resourne agayne to say and affirme, that such men beware,
 that byinges into their houses a sonne in Lawe that presu-
 meth of worship, and knoweth not but to walke vp & downe
 the streates: that accompteth to be a trim Courtier, and that
 is skilfull at cardes: and dice: or boasteth himselfe for running
 of horses: for in such cases the poore father in lawe must fast,
 to the ende the foolish sonne in lawe may haue to spend in fol-
 lies. But the conclusion of this counsell shall be, that al men
 marry their children with their equall and according to their
 estate, otherwise I doe certifie before the yeare be out, it
 shall raigne vpon their heades that like a foolish or an incon-
 uenient marriage.

* *

Householde
 enemies.

*

*

I cameat for
 Parents.

*

X
A knitting of
harts befoze
stryking of
handes.

Also it is a counsell very expedient that every man chuse a wife according to his complexion and condition: for if the father marry his sonne, or if the sonne do marry of necessity not at his liking, the sorrowfull yong man may not say (of a troth) that they have married him, but for euenmore haue married him. To the ende that marriages be perpetual, lasting and pleasant, betwixt the man and the woman there must be a knitting of hartes, befoze stryking of handes: it is very convenient that the father geue counsell vnto the sonne that he marry to his contentation, but in no wise to vse violence to force him against his liking: for all violent marriages engender hatred betwixt the married: contention betwixt the fathers, scandall amongst the neyghbours, laue betwixt the parents, and quarrells betwixt the kinned: neyther is it my opinion that anye should marry sodainly and secretly, as a bayne light yong man: for every marriage done onely in respect of loue without further aduiselement, most tymes doe end in sorrowes.

X
Loue cometh
running,
and retourneth
flying

It is a thing very common that a yong man of small age and lesse experience, but of to much libertie, knowing not what he doeth loue, and muche lesse what he taketh in hand, groweth enamoured of a yong gyale and marieth with hir, which (at the very instant) when he hath finished to tast hir, he beginneth presently to abhorre hir. The thing that is most to be procured betwixt the married is, that they loue entirely and seruently: for otherwise they shall all day goe sorrowing with crooked countenances, and the neighbours shall haue no want whereof to speake. Also I will aduise them to haue their loues fixed, true and sure, setting in the hart by little and little: for otherwise, by the selfe same way that loue came running, they shall see hir retorne flying. I haue scene many in this worlde loue in greate haste, whiche I haue knowne afterwards abhorre at great leasure. One of the most painfullest things contained in man's life is, that if there be a hundred permanent and constant in loue, there is also a hundred thousand that neuer cease to abhorre. It is also to be aduertised,

sed,

sed, that the counsell which I giue vnto the father to make no marriage without consent of his sonne, the same I giue vnto the sonne, that he marie not against the will of his father: for other wise, it may come to passe, to receiue moze offence by the malediction of his father, than his marriage portion may yelde him profit. Young men when they marry in their youth haue no further consideration but of their pleasure, and onely content them selues to haue their wiues beautifull: but the father and mother, for that it toucheth both hono^r and goods, they seeke him a wyfe that shall be wise, rich, gentle, honest and chaste: and the last thing they behold, is, hir beautie. The marriages that be made, hidden and in secret, I say it groweth of greates lightnes, and proceedeth of no small crueltie: for it giueth to al the neighbours whereof to talke, and to their old parents whereof to weepe. It hapneth many times that the mother ouerwatcheth hir selfe to spinne, and the father to grow old in gathering a sufficient portion. And at the time they shall entreat or talke of an honest marriage, the foolish young man remaineth secretly married, whereof after followeth, that the mother remaineth weeping, the father ashamed, the kindred offended, and the friends scandalized: and yet thereof proceedeth a greater griefe, which is, that the sonne hath chanced to matche with suche a wife, that the father holdeth his goods not onely euill employed, but is much ashamed to admit hir into his house. Also another offence riseth in the like marriage, which is, many times the fathers doe determine, with the sonnes portion to remedie and amend the daughters marriage: and as the young mans most principall intent is to enioye the mayde withoute care of goddes: the sister remaineth cast awaye, the sonne decapued, and the father derided. Plutarke in hys politikes sayeth, that the sonne whiche married withoute consente of hys parentes, amongst the Greekes, was publikely whipt: amongst the Lacedemonians they did not whippe, but dismemberite. Lactius sayeth, that vnto suche (so married) it was a custome amongst the Thebanes, not that they should only be dismembered

In old tyme
the fathers
blessing pre-
ferred before
hope of inher-
itance.

of all goodes, but also openly be cursed of their parents. Let no man esteeme it light to be cursed or blessed of their elders: for in the old time amongst the Hebrewes, the children (without al comparison) held more account of their fathers blessing, than of their Grandfathers inheritance.

That the woman be very shamefast, and no babler or full of talke.

Want of
shamefastnes
in womē most
hurtfull.

ALso it is a counsell very necessary, that the man whiche shall marrie and set vp house, do chouse a wise shamefast, for if forceably there should be in a woman but one vertue, the same ought to be only shamefastnesse. I confesse that it is more perillous for the conscience, but (I say) lesse hurtfull to honesty, that a woman be secretly dishonest, than openly dishonest. Many many infirmities be covered in a woman only by shamefastnesse, and many more suspected in hir, that is of overbold and of shamelesse countenance. Let every man say what he will, but for my part I doe firmly beleue, that in a woman of a bashfull countenance there be fewe things to be reprehended, and in hir that is otherwise, there wanteth all things wherefoze to be praysed. The safety that nature hath given unto a woman to keepe hir reputation, chastitie, honour, and goodes, is only shamefastnesse: and that day, that thereof she hath not great regard, let hir yeeld hir selfe euermore for a castaway. When any man shall enquire marriage of any woman, the first thing he hath to demand is not, if she be rich, but if she be shamefast: for goodes is euery day gotten, but shamefastnesse in a woman once lost, is neuer recovered. The best portion, the greatest inheritance, and the most precious iewel that a woman can bring with hir, is shamefastnesse.

The safetie of
womens re-
putation.

For if the Father shall see that his daughter hath lost the same, it shall be lesse euill for him to bury hir, than to marry hir. The maner is, that many women presume to be talkers, and to be gracious in talking, whiche office I would not

for them learne, and much lesse put in for speaking the
truth, and also with libertie, that which in men we call grati-
ous, in women we terme it witlesse babling.

News, tales, vaine fables, and dishonest talkes, an honest
woman ought not onely shame to speake them, but also loth
to heare them. The graue women & of authoritie ought not
to care to be skilfull of talke and newes, but to be honest and
silent: for if she much presume of talke and taunting, the very
same that did laugh at hir deuice, will afterwards murmur at
hir manners. The honour of women is so delicate, that many
things whiche men may both doe and speake, is not lawfull
vnto women that they once dare to whisper them. The gentle
woman or women that will be holden graue, ought not onely
to keepe silence in things vnlawfull and dishonest, but also in
lawfull things, if they bee not very necessary: for women sel-
dome erre by silence, and by much speach they selde cease
to giue cause of reproche. Wh forrowfull husband, whose lot
hath chaunced to light on a wife that is a great babler, & yet
would seeme a curious speaker. For truly, if any such once
take in hand to recite a matter or to frame any complaint or
quarrell, she neither admitteth reason, or patiently suffereth a-
ny word to be said vnto hir. The euill life that women passe
with their husbands, is not so much for that which they com-
mit with their persons, as it is for that which they speake
with their tongues: if the woman would keepe silence, when
the husband beginneth to chide, he should neuer haue had din-
ner, neither the worse supper: which surely is not so, for at
the instant that the husbando beginneth to utter his griefe,
she beginneth to scold and yell: whereof doth follow, that they
come to handie gresses, and also call for neyghbours.

The cause of
domesticall
Combats.

That the wife be a home keeper, and auoy-
ding all occasions.

It is also a commendable counsell that the wife presume to
be honest, and an housekeeper: for when women in their
houses

houses will be absolute, they come afterwards to wander the
 greater dissolute. The honest woman ought to be very well
 advised in that which she speaketh, and very suspicious and
 doubtfull in all thinges she doth: because such manner of wo-
 men as haue no regard to their wordes, do afterwards offend
 in deedes. For how simple and ignorant is that man, but he
 easily knoweth the honour of women to be much more ten-
 der and delicate than of men: and that this is true it appereth
 most cleare, for that a man may not be dishonored but with
 reason, but for a woman to shame hir selfe, occasion is suffi-
 cient. She that is good and presumeth in goodness to conti-
 nue, may hold it for most certaine, that she shalbe so much bet-
 ter as she shall haue of hir selfe lesse confidence: I say lesse
 confidence, to the ende that she neither adventure to giue care
 to wanton or light wordes, or presume to admit fained offers.
 Let hir be as she may be, and deserue what she may deserue,
 and presume what she thinketh good: that if she delighteth to
 heare, and suffer to be serued, early or late she shall fall. And
 if they shall aunswere that they do it for pastime and to laugh
 and be mery: to this I reply, that of such testes, they vse to re-
 maine all to be tested, I advise, and reade vnto any Gentle wo-
 man, or other Dame of Citie or towne, that she do not ven-
 ter with cousin or vncle, either with any other of hir kinsmen
 to encommend hir selfe or go alone: for if to be alone with a
 straunger there is to be feared of that may chauce: with hir
 Cousin or kinsman let hir doubt what may be spoken. Let no
 honest woman haue confidence in saying, the kindred betwixt
 them is so neare, that it is impossible that any may mistrust
 them: for if the malice of man will venter to iudge the thoughts,
 it is not credible that he will pardon that which he seeth with
 his eyes. The Gentlewoman or others that shal heare or
 reade this my writing, I would they shuld note this sentence,
 which is: That to a man for that he is a man, it is sufficient that
 hee bee good, although it doth not appeare: but the woman, for
 that she is a woman, it is not sufficient that she be good, but that
 also it be manifest.

Nota

Suspition no
 small enemy
 to womens
 wises.

It is to be noted and noted againe, that as the prouision of
household dependeth onely on the husband, even so the honour
of all dependeth onely of the woman: In suche sorte, that
there is no honour within thy house, longer than thy wife is
honorable. We do not here intitle honorable such as be on-
ly faire of face, of gentle blood, of comely personage, and a he-
per of gods: but onely hir that is honest of life, and temperat
and aduised in hir speech. Plutarch reporteth that the wife of
Thucides the Greeke, being demaunded how she could endure
the stench of hir husbannes breath, answered: As no other
but my husband hath come neare me, I thought all other
mens breath had bene of the very same sauor. An example
worthy to be knowne, and much more to be followed, which
is taught vs by that most noble Greeke: that the honest wo-
man is so muche to be aduised, that she consent not the haunt
of any vn honest company so neare as to smell his mouth, ei-
ther so muche as to touch his garments.

The honour
of the husband
dependeth on
the wife.

A notorious
example of a
Greeke.

That the married woman be not
proud or cruel.



Also is right worthy counsell, that the wife be
not cruel and ambitious, but milde and suf-
fering: for they be two things that giue no
small hindrance vnto a woman, which is to
wit: hir much talke, and litle sufferance: and
thereof proceedeth, that if she be silent, all

men doe esteeme hir: if she suffer hir husband, she shal be be-
reft well married. Oh how vnfortunat is that man, y is married
vnto a croward and a cruel woman: the hill Aethna both not
whirle out fire so furiously, as she sheweth portion out of hir
mouth. Without comparifon muche more is the fury of a wo-
man to be feared, than the ire of a man: for the angry man
both hit himselfe his minde, but the fierce woman to scold, yell
and exclaim can finde no endes: and it is the manner of the
woman that possideth of
honestie,

A furious
woman is
compared to
the hill
Aethna.

honestie, ought not to contend with any other woman that is
 furious: for at the instant that she loseth hir shamefastnes, and
 kindleth hir choler, she onely sayth not what she hath seene or
 hard, but also what she hath dreamed. It is vnto me not a litle
 gracious, that when a woman is kindled with a furious rage,
 neither beareth she hir selfe, nor vnderstandeth others, nei-
 ther doth admit excuse, nor suffer moone, neyther taketh coun-
 sell, or cometh neare to reason: And the worst of all is, that
 many times she leaueth to quarell with whom she was first
 offended, and spitteth hir malice against him that came to
 make peace. When any furious woman brauleth with any
 man or woman, and some other comes betwixt to make peace:
 she will not onely afterwards geue him small thanks, but al-
 so will rayle against him many quarrels: Saying that if he
 had bene the man she thought of, he would haue chide on hir
 behalfe, and also reuenged hir cause. The woman that natu-
 rally is fierce and crabbed, she neuer thinketh to be angry with
 out a cause, neither sholdeth without reason, and therfore it is
 muche better to leaue hir than to resist hir. I retourne to
 rectifie my saying: whiche is, that the house is vnforsunate
 where the wife is a brawler and quarrellous: for such a one
 is alwaies ready to chide, and neuer to confesse hir fault. The
 cruell bawling woman is very perillous, for she causeth hir
 husbände to bee fierce, she giueth offence vnto hir kindred,
 she is hated of hir collins, and the neighbours flee from hir:
 whereof followeth sometimes, that hir husbände meeteth hir
 body with his feet, and combeth hir haire with his fingers.
 Vnto a furious bawling woman on the one side it is a paine
 to heare hir chide, and on the other part it is terrible to vnder-
 stand what she will not let to speake: for if a procession of
 people shall take in hand to amerce hir, she shall wearie the
 al with a lot of injuries. Vnto hir husbände she saith,
 that he is negligent, his seruants slothfully, he mayds fluttish,
 hir sonnes gluttonous, hir daughters windlingazers, that
 friends be in grate, that the enemies be traitours, the
 neighbours malicious, his Collinges enuious: and
 about

An euill kind
 of measuring.

Whiche findes
 many faultes.

above all the rest, the sayth that no man dealeth truly with another, either obserueth loyaltie with his wife. I do lye, if I did not see two honozably married, separate themselues for no other occasion, but for that the seely married man was sometimes sadde at Table, and other times did sigh at bed. The woman sayd that hir husband had some treason against hir at the Table: and for the beauty of some other that he loued her did sigh in bed: and the certaintie of the matter well knownen, the troth was, that the man was bound in a perillous suertiship, and could not be mery, but in the ende for any thing that I could intreate, preach, or chide, I could neuer bring them a greed, untill he had swozne and giuen me his sayth, not to bee sadde at the Table, neither to sigh at bed. The woman that is patient and suffering, shall be blessed of hir husband, well seruued of seruants, much honozed of neighbours, and in great reuerence with hir kined. And where it is otherwise, let hir hold it for certain, that they will all flie from hir house & blisse them selues from hir tong. When a woman is fierce, proude, and cruell, smal delight hath hir husband that she is descended of gentle blood, of comely personage, rich of goodes, and allied into his house: but he curseth the day he was married, and blasphemeth the man that first moued the matter.

Commodities following a patient wife.

That Husbands be not rigorous, chiefly when they be new married.



It is also an acceptable counsell, that the husband be not fierce, nor disordered with his wife: for betwixt them there shall neuer be concord, if the woman doe not learne to keepe silence, and the husband to haue patience. I dare saye (and in a manner I heare) it shall rather bee the dwelling of soles, than the house of friends, where husbande wanteth wisdome and the wife patience: for in procelle of time they shall eyther separate, or else euery day be in battell. Women naturally be tender in complexion & weak

The dwelling rather of soles than friends.

in condition: to this end a man is a man, that he know to tolerate their faultes, and cover their weakenesse, in suche wise, that once they muste support them byting, and an hundred times licking.

If there be compassion of the man that is matched with a fierce wife, much more of the woman that is encountred with a furious husband: for there be men so fierce and of so small patience, that the poore women their wives, neyther is theyr wisdom sufficient to serve them, neyther their patience to suffer them, sometime for their children, sometime for theyr servants, and sometime for want of money: betwixt man and wife offences may not be excused: and in suche a case I durst avouch, that then when the wife is angrie, he hath neede to seeke his wittes, which is to witte, to take all things in test, or not to answer a word. If vnto all things that the wife will be græued and frame complaints, the wise man shoulde answer and satisfie, let him holde it for certaine, that he needeth the strength of Sampson, and the wisdom of Salomon. Marke well married man what I say vnto thee, which is, that either thy wife is wise, or else thy wife is a foole. If thou be matched with a foole, it anayleth little to reprove hir, and if thou be married vnto a wise woman, one sharp word is sufficient: by cause my friend thou hast to vnderstand, that if a woman be not corrected by that which is sayde, she will neuer amend by that which is threatned. When a woman shall be inflamed with yre, the man ought to suffer hir, and after the flame is somewhat quenched, to reprove hir: for if she once begin to lose hir shame in the presence of hir husband, they will every houre cleave the house with yelles.

He that presumeth to be a wise man, and to be a good husband, he ought rather to vse his wife with milde reasons and sagacitie, than with rigour and force: for the woman is of suche disposition, that in the ende of thirtie yeares marriage, there shal every day be found thwarrings in hir conuention, and alterations in hir conuersation. Also it is to be noted, that if at all times the husband ought to shunne quarrelling with his wife,

much

It time for
the husbände
to seeke hys
wittes.

much moze he ought to auoyde the same when they shall bee newly married: for if at the beginning she shall haue cause to abhorre and hate, late or neuer will she returne to love. At the beginning of their marriage, the wise husband ought to satune, flatter, and to enamour his wife: for if then they recover loue ech to other, although after wards they come to some household woies and grudgings it proceedeth of some new vnhindnesse, and not of old rooted hatred. For all enemies be loue and hatred, and the firste of them that taketh lodging in the heart, there he remaineth inhabitant all the days of life, in such wise, that the first loues may depart from the person, but neuer forgotten at the hart. If from the beginning of the marriage the woman do take the bit to abhorre hir husbände, I commend them both vnto a miserable life, and also vnto an vnfortunate old age. For if he shall haue power to make hir to feare him, he shall neuer haue strength to force hir to loue him. Many husbändes do boast themselves to be serued and feared in their houses, of whome I haue moze pitie than enmie: bycause the woman that abhorreth, doth feare and serue hir husband, but she that liketh doth loue him and cherish him. Suche ought the woman to trauell to be in grace with hir husband, and very much ought the husband to feare to bee in disgrace with his wife: for if she doe once determine to fixe hir eyes vpon some other, he shall enioy hir in despite of hir husband: for so long a iorney, and for so painefull a life, as matrimonie is, the husbād ought not to be satisfied that he hath robbd his wife of hir virginittie, but in that he hath possession and vse of hir will: for it is not sufficient that they be married, but that they be well married, and liue very well contented. The man that is not beloued of his wife, holdeth his goodes in danger, his house in suspicion, his honour in ballance, and also his life in perill: bycause it is easie to belieue, that she desireth not long life vnto hir husband, with whome she passeth a time so tedious.

Forget not to make choyce to harbour such guests.

Causes rather of pitie than of enuy.

To be noted.

X

That

That Husbands be not ouer ielouse.

Also it is a counsell to be unbjaiced, that married men doe auoyde to be with their neighbours malicious, and of their wiues ielouse: bycause onely two kindes of people be ielous, which is to vnderstand, such as be of euill condition, and suche as in their youth haue spent their time in wantonnes. Such kind of men do imagine, that their wiues giue the like entertainment vnto others, as they receiued of their neighbours wiues: the whiche is no small vanitie to thinke, and no lesse foolishnesse to speake: so; if there be some that be dissolute, ther be also other some wise, honest, and aduised. To say that all women be good, is of too much affection: and to say that all be euill, is to great want of reason. It is sufficient to say, that amongst men there is many things to be reprehended, and amongst women there wanteth not wherefoze to be praysed: I hold it not so; euill, that vnto hir whiche is vaine and light, they vse hir not only with reason, but also taking away occasion: but withall it is to be vnderstode with this condition, that they vse hir not with such straytnesse, either giue hir so euill a life: whereby vnder colour to keepe herin, they bzing hir to dispayze. We cannot denie but there be women of so euill condition, and so vnbonest of inclination, that will not be corrected with force, eyther amended by chastisement. But it seemeth that suche were bozne into this world, only to torment their husbands and to shame their kinred. And on the other side there be women many and very manye, whiche of theyr owne proper nature be of so tractable condition and chaste inclination: that it seemeth not that they were bozne into the world, but so; a mirroze to the common wealth, and a gloze vnto their whole kinred. I retourne once moze to saye, that sometimes it is not euill to shut the doze, to remoue hir from the window, to denie hir going abzoade, and to deliuer hir frō some suspicious company: but this the husband must bzing to passe with great skill, that he alwayes shew a greater faith in the liberty she hathe, than in the watch or direction he gineth.

Good counsell.

Aduertisements worth the following.

I do prayse and approue, that men with their wiues be caue-
 lous, but I hold it not so sure that they be ouer ielous: for
 women be of such qualitie, that they procure nothing so much
 as that which is most forbidden them. If the husbände haue
 the wife in suspicion, he ought to profite himselte by skill, not
 uttering it in wordes: for if a woman doe once find hir selfe a-
 shamed, she will not sayle to find out the meanes and maner,
 to make the suspicion true, and not so muche for the appetito
 she hath to be vicious, as she hath to seele hir hart reuenged of
 hir husband. The force of Sampson, the science of Homer, the
 prouidence of Augustus, the cautels of Pirrhus, the patience of Iob,
 the sagacity of Haniball, and the vigilancy of Hermogenes, bee
 not sufficient to gouerne a woman, either to bring hir will in
 subiection: for finally and in the end, in all this worlde there is
 not so great force, that can make one good by force. The negli-
 gences, wants, and weakenesse that the husbände shall see in
 his wife, it were no wisdom to proclayme them, neyther
 yet presently to chastise them, but some be must gently cor-
 rect, some aduisedly admonish, some seuerely punish, some cut
 off, and the most and greatest part be must dissemble. For
 wise and patient though a woman may be, only two thinges
 she cannot endure to beare, neyther is hir patience sufficiente
 to suffer, which is to vnderstand, that any hold hir for euill of
 body and soule of face: but notwithstanding she be euill, she
 will be holten for good, and being foule, she will be praysed for
 fayre. But let it be for conclusion, that when the husbände is
 sore of all thinges, whiche is to witte: that his wife maketh no
 market of his person, that his fame wander not the streetes,
 and that his goodes goe not to wracke, in my iudgement it is
 mete, that he neuer handle hir as one that is ielouse, or speak
 unto hir as one that is malicious: because the woman is much
 bound to be vertuous, when the husbände in hir commeth
 great confidence.

Nota

To be consider-
 ed.

*

That

That if betwixt the married there happen some vnkindnesse,
they ought not to giue part thereof vnto neighbours.



An euill man-
ner of conuersation

Also it is a right profitable counsell, that in
such wise the husbände & wife behaue them-
selues in their vnkindnesse and differences,
that they giue no parte thereof vnto theyr
neighbours: for they haue to vnderstande,
that if they with the euill they will reioyce,
and if they wishe them well they giue them wherof to talke.
There be men so comber some, and women of such euill suffer-
ring, that they know not to chide, but yelling: nor the other to
answer but crying: in such wise that their neighbours haue
an office in the wake time to pacifie them, and on the holy-
day to heare their græues. The husband complayneth saying,
that his wife is fierce, and that no Diuell may deale with hir.
He also complayneth that she is ielous and suspitious, and that
he is not able to liue with hir. He also complayneth, that she
is impatient and foule tonged, and continually reuileth him.
He also complayneth, that his wife is weake, foule, and sick-
ly, and that he spendeth al in curing hir. Also he complayneth,
that she is costly, slouthfull, and alwayes sleeping, and that she
riseth not till none.

The wifes
complaynt.

Also he complayneth, that she is stuttish, idle and negligent,
and that the things of his house she neither knoweth to gather
together, and much lesse to lay them safe. Also he complayneth,
that his wife is a seeker of kintred, a gossip, a stræte gadder,
and that if she once take the doze, vntill the starres shine she
returneth not to house. On the other side the poore women for
that they haue no force to reuenge, they profit themselves to
complayne with their tongs. The wife complayneth of hir
husband that he is sad, sullen, and melancholicke; and that of
an extreme euill condition: neyther liked of his neighbours,
nor endured of his seruants. She complaineth of hir husband,
that he is furious, proude, and of euill suffering, and that ma-
ny times when with choler he is inflamed, he bestingeth hir
mayden

maydes, and also tearcth hir kerchife from hir head. Also she complayneth, that he vpbaydeth hir to be foule and euill fauored, a slut, a filthe, and a Jew: and that sometimes he speaketh so many and so great dispitfull words, that they bzeake hir hart, and teare the teares out of hir eyes. Also she cōplayneth that he consenteth not, that she goe to see hir father and mother, noz visitt hir friends and kinsfolkes, and of pure malice he doth not suffer hir to go out at doze: and commaundeth hir at the middes of service to depart home from the Church. Also she complayneth, that hir husbände is ielouse and suspitious without any occasion, and much lesse with any reason, and soz that cause he dothe not suffer hir to goe out at dozes, oz to looke out at windowe, neyther put on good garment, neyther bzeasse hir head, oz speake a word with any man, but that she must be watched as a mayd, and hid in like a pūne. Also she complayneth of him that he beleueth nothing that she speaketh, neyther doth accept any seruice she can do him: soz if hee be once angrie, presently he chargeth hir with a lie, and whirleth all that he catcheth. Also she complayneth of him that hee loaueth no married woman that he serueth not, noz widowes that he followeth not, oz woman at large to whome he goeth not, oz wench with whome he dallieth not: and that he keepeth hir (soz rowfull and most vnfortunate) to no other ende, than to make ready children, bzeasse the pot, and swaep the house. Also she complayneth of him, that not contented to take the wheate, the bacon, the butter, the oyle, the chāse, to giue vnto such and such out of the doze, but also stealeth from hir, to giue vnto his minion that which she spinneeth at the rocke, and also what she getteth by making of lace. Also she complayneth of him, that he is a common gamster at tables and dice, & that not contented to play al the rent, and al that he can get: but also he playeth the furniture of his house and the icwells apperteyning to hir persone. Also she cōplayneth of him, that many times he commeth from abzoade so furious, so troubled, and so bedewild, that none may abide him, oz much lesse suffer him, but that he whippeth and chideth the children, he bzaue-
lith

Forward out
of measure.

leth and maddeth with the maydes, he teareth and pulleth the
boyes by the heare, and also behayleth hir by the lockes. Of
those and other such like things doth the man and the wife co-
playne each of other, whereof to giue parte vnto suche as can
not remedie it, neither conuenient that they shoulde vnder-
stand it, it seemeth vnto me, that in the man it is too much sim-
plicitie, and in the woman too much vanitie.

I retourne to saye, that it is of small skill, and too much ig-
norance, since they will shew vnto none what they haue in
their chests, and at times will vtter all that is in their sto-
macks. For a friend to shew vnto his friende, his bread, his
wine, his money, and his garner, there is no inconuenience at
all, but the inconuenience is in that we loue, in that we desire,
and in that which we woꝛship: all which is not only to be kept
secret, but also hidden and removed. The loue and hatred that
is fired in the harte, it is necessarie that it be lockt and also
sealed. For what do I reserve for him that I like very well, if
I say vnto all men what is hidden in my hart: vnto him that
loueth vs with his hart, and we wish him good with all oure
hart, to him alone and to none others we haue to manifest
our hart. The passions that they giue vs, and the mistoꝛtunes
that they offer vs, it is no wisdom to discouer, but vnto him
that will help vs to remedie it, and also will helpe to betwaye
the same: because the feares of a friende dothe not a little dis-
burden the hart of trauell. If this be true, as it is, to what end
doth the husbände complayne of the wife, and the wife of the
husbånd, vnto any which they know can giue them no reme-
die, but test, skorne and deride them? If any ouerthwarting of
the husbände, or any weakenesse be in the woman, it is great
foolishnesse and little wisdom to vtter where it is not know-
en, for it is lesse euill, that others do suspect it, than to giue
them to vnderstand it of their owne mouth.

I counsell to
be impace.

*

That

That the Husbantes provide things necessary
for the house.

Is also a sound counsell, that the husbands be diligent and
carefull to make provision for their houses, to cloth their wi-
ues, to bring up their children, and to paye their seruants, be-
cause in voluntarie matters men may be negligent but the
necessities of their house, doe neyther suffer negligence, or for-
getfulness. The office of the husbands is, to get goods, and of
the wife, to gather them together, and save them. The office
of the husbante is, to goe abroad to seeke lining, and of the
woman to keepe the house. The office of the husband is, to seek
money, and of the woman not vainely to spend. The office of
the husbante is, to deale with all men, and of the woman to
talke with few. The office of the husband is, to be entermed-
ling, and of the woman to be solitary and withdrawen. The
office of the man is, to be skilfull in talke, and of the woman
to boast of silence. The office of the man is to be zelous of ho-
nor, and of the woman to presume to be honorable. The office
of the man is to be a giuer, and of the woman to be a sauer.
The office of the man is, to apparell him selfe as he may, and
of the woman as it becommeth. The office of the husband is,
to be lord of all, and of the wife to giue account of al. The of-
fice of the husband is to dispatche all things without doze, & of
the wife to giue order vnto all things within the house. Finally
I doe say, that the office of the husband is, to husband the goods,
& of the wife to gouerne the familie. I thought good to say thus
much, to the end that the house wherin euery one performeth
his office we may call a colledge of quietnes, & the house wherin
euery one shifteth for him selfe, we may terme it a hell.

What the wife shall demand of hir husband things super-
fluous and very costly, neyther ought she to craue it, or the
husband to giue it: but if she require thinges necessary, they
ought not to be denied, for the husbante hath to conceiue
for most certaine, that vpon the gages of honor, many times
the wife dothe provide for hir selfe and hir household. The

The office of
the husband
and of the
wife.

Nota

¶.

husband

Rather trot-
ting than
spinning.

husband that giueth not vnto his wife, a coate nor mantell, snocke nor shoe, kerchise nor flane, neyther to clothe hir childzen, nor yet to pay seruants: and on the other parte hee seeth all these things provided for free, and made better: certaynely such a one may well thinke that she rather getteth them trotting, than spinning. Oh how many women be euill, not because they would be so, but for that their husbandes giueth them not that wherebye is convenient: The whiche, by exchange of chastitie, do supplie their extreme necessitie.

To maintaine house and familie, it is not sufficient that the wife doe spinne, weaue, sowe, worke, watche, and over-watche: but that also the husband do watche, sweate, and trauel: and if not, he may hold it for certayne, that his house shall bee provided to the cost of his honoz, and to the charge of his person. For pouertie or weakenesse, no woman ought to do any thing to shame hir selfe, or dishonour hir kindred: but soyntly with this, I dare auiouche, that many times the negligence of the husband doth bring to passe, that his wife with him is absolute, and with others dissolute. I know not with what face, either with what hart he dare beate or chide his wife, since she neuer seeth him put hand to his purse to buy meate.

Causes of
pitefull pati-
ence.

The husband that consozmably vnto his estate doth mayntayne his family and sustayne his house, iust and most iustly he may chide with his wife for the negligence that she vseth, and for the excesse that she committeth, and where it is not so, he must suffer what she speaketh, let passe what he heareth, vse silence in what he suspecteth, and also dissemble what he seeth.

That the Husband bring no suspicious persons to their houses.



Alfo it is a convenient counsell, that married men be friends and familiar with honest persons, and procure to auoyde euill companye. There be many that be euill married, not for the faultes that in their wiues is seene, but for the

the vicious words that vnto hir the malicious speaketh. If the husband be an Dre I say nothing, but if he be of iudgement and discrete, he hath to take it for stoene and shame, that any man dare saye any euill of his wife, since others seeth hir not once a weeke, and he hath hir every night in his chamber, every day at his table, and every houre in his house. If the wife be a fowle, a babler, a goer at large, wanton, light, absolute or dissolute, the husband is the first that should vnderstand thereof, and the man that should presently therefore giue remedie: and if he know it and do not amend it, such an Dre and so be hoyned, they ought to permit to himselfe, since he will suffer it. One of the most grieuous offences that we may committe against God, is: to bring hatred betwixt the man and his wife, and the wife and hir husband: for if there shall any negligence be seene in the man, or any weakenesse found in the woman: we are bound to aduise them, but haue no licence to accuse the. Many times the husbände is in fault, and ouer easely giueth credite vnto his friends, neighbours, and also to his seruants, the whiche if they aduertise him of any euill of his wife: it is not so much for the zeale of his honour, as it is for the malice they beare vnto hir. Also it is hurtfull vnto the husband to be conuersant with euill men: by the insamie that may procede of their conuersation, for there be some men so euill and of so larre a fetch, that they procure friendshippe with the husband, to no other purpose, than to haue an entrie more sure to deale with his wife. It may be well suffred, that the neighbour, the friend, the kinsman, and the acquainted with the husband may haue friendship with the wife, but no familiaritie: bycause friendship requireth no more but communication, but familiaritie leadeth to conuersation. I am not of the opinion, that a man should haue such confidence in any man: that certaynly he durst say, vpon my bow I assure thee, that I entred suche a mans house, and with his wife did eate, laugh, and play, talke, and passe the tyme: bycause she is muche my good Mistresse, friende, and deuoute. I desye that friende that hath no other pastime but with his friendes wife.

No small offence to God.

The wife
and sword
must not be
lent.



which is tollerable to be said in such cases, is: that such a man is my friend, and his wife of some acquaintance: bycause it is an olde pꝛouerb That the wife and the sword may be shewed, but not lent: If vnto the husbände there happen any infamy for bꝛinging his friend to house, & to bꝛing him acquainted with his wife, let him complaine of him selfe that was the cause, and not of his wife that stumbled.

Plutarch sayth, that it was a law amongst the Parthians, that the wiues might not hold other particular acquaintance, but the friendes of their husbādes: in such wise, that amongst those barbarous people, the goods they helde was not onely common, but also the friendes that they loued. I should think it good, that the wife should loue the friendes of hir husband, and that the husband should loue the kindred of his wife: bycause if he will obtaine peace in his house, he ought to be serued of his wife, & of hir kinred honoured. The husband ought not to be so wilfull or carelesse, that when the kinred of his wife shall come to house, that he leaue to talke with them, & to entertaine them with some cheare: bycause it should be vnto hir no small disgrace, and vnto him great want of good nature. Sometime also the wiues do conceiue affections, and take in hand friendships to be excused (although not suspicious) for the sustayning wherof, they come to some quarrelles with their husbāds, and also sometime vnto extreame unkindnesse, the whiche I alowe not, neither muche lesse do I counsel: bycause the honest or honoꝛable and aduised woman, hath to hold no frendship so deare: that it may be sufficient to bꝛeake unkindnesse with hir husband. In any honest woman it is not tollerable to say, this is my friend: but to say this is of my acquaintance: bycause the married woman ought to haue none for enemy, and onely hir husbāde to hold for friend. Also it seemeth not well vnto me, that some women be to much affectioned, passioned, and bending, the which sometimes for defence of their friends and to stand forth to helpe their parties: do mete their haire by the sisters, and also take vp dust with their shoulders.

A foolish fashion to take
by dust,

That

That women ought to gather and to sow.

Also it is a right necessary counsell, that married women do learne, and also know very well to gouerne their houses, which is to waite, to gather, to sowe, to worke, to sweepe, to play the Cooke, and to sow with the neede: bycause they be thinges so necessary, that with out them, they them selues can not liue, and much lesse content their husbandes. Suetonius doeth say, that Augustus the Emperour commanded the Ladies his childe, to learne all the offices & qualitties where, with a woman might liue & be maintained, and whereof she ought to boast hir selfe: in such wise, that at which they did weare, they did spin and weaue. For the greatnes of any gentilewomans estate, or noblenes of blood, or estimation of great welth, so well both a rocke become hir girdle, as a knight his lance, or a priest his booke. When the Romanes. vpon a certaine wager, did send from the wars to Rome, to vnderstande what euery mans wife did at home: amongst them all, the most famous and most prayled was the chaste Lucrece, & for no other cause, but for that she onely was found weauing, and at the rest idle. If they say vnto one, that amongst the nobles it is a matter of no account to vnderstande in these simplicities: to this I aunswere, that the honest woman hath not to be ashamed to spinne, and to lay vp, but to eate, rest, and talke: bycause the honour of a gentilewoman both not consist to be set at hir ease; but to be in businesse. If women would take pain in their houses, we should not see in the streets so many cast away, bycause in this worlde there is not so mortal an enemy vnto Chastitie, as is idlenesse. A womā that is young, in helth, at libertie, fair, lusty, and taketh hir ease, what is it that she thinketh leaning vpon a cushine? What which she perfozmeth is, to set hir down at leysure, to deuise what for me she may vse for liberty to lose hir selfe: in such wise, that she deceyueth all men, saying that she is good, and on the other part she enioyeth hir lyfe at pleasure. What a delight is it to see a woman rise earlye in the morning, to stirre about, hir kerchiefe not all

Necessary exercises for the married wife.

Idlenesse and chastitie are greater enemies.

*The workes
of an hus-
wife.*

*A friendly
warning to
mothers.*

well, hir coate tuckt vp, hir armes bare, without slippers,
shyding with the maydens, calling vp seruantes, and dyesing
hir chyldren: What a pleasure is it to see hir make hir owne
partlet, to wash hir clothes, to aye her wheate, to syfte hir
meale, to gather hir things together, to bake hir bread, to
sweepe the house, to make the fyre, and to set on the pot: and
after meate to take hir cullin for boane lace, or hir rock to
spinne: there is no husband in this worlde that is so foolish or
unfensible, that wil not like his wife much better on the sater-
day when she worketh, than on the Sonday when she fristeth.
I like not well of those women, that knowe no other thing but
to goe to bedde at one, rise at eleuen, goe to dinner at twelue,
and talke till night: and moze and besides this, they know no-
thing but to trimine their chamber where they shall lye, and
to dress a withdrawing place wher to worke in, in such wise,
that such be not borne but to eate, sleepe, rest, and talke. Lea-
ving apart the chamber wherein they sleepe, and the place
where they worke, if you make a turne about the rest of the
house, you will be ashamed to see it, & lothed to walke in it.
where all things lieth disordred, and worse swept: in such
wise, that many Gentlewoman to mayntaine an estate, make
their house a stable. For a woman to be good, it is no small
help to be alwayes in business: and by the contrary, we see no
other thing, but that the idle woman goeth alwayes penitine.
Let all maner of women beleue me, that in any wyse they
busie their daughters in some honest exercise for I giue them
to vnderstand (if they know not,) that of idle moments, and
wanton thoughtes, they come to make euill conclusions. No
more but that our Lord be in your proceeding: from Granada
the 4. of maye, 1524. yeares.

Alonso

A letter vnto Mosen Rubin of Valentia, wherein he answereth to certayne notable demaunds. A letter very convenient, for the woman that marrieth an olde man.



Right worshipfull aunciente, remmed with youtheley motion, youre Letter read and considered, that which I conceyue and comprehend thereof, is, that it contayneth much wylting, and commeth wrytten in very grosse paper, whereof it may very well be inferred, that you haue wast time, and want of money. Small comforte shoulde he haue at youre handes, that at thys instant shoulde traue youre almes for a Cote, that hath not a Sparuedy to buy a sheete of paper: Althoughe I holde it for most certayne, that if you haue not at this present a Sparuedy to buy paper, at other times you vse to set an hundred Duckats at a rest. The property and condition of Players is, sometimes to haue greate abundaunce, and at other times to suffer greate lacke, in suche wise, that to daye hauing too many Duckats to play, on the morowe they haue not to paye for their dinner. I haue sayde it many times, and also wrytten in my doctrines: that I enuy not these gamesters for the money that they win, but at the sighes that they geue by cause, if they cast the dice with courage, with great sighes they wylth their chaunce. But comming to the purpose of youre demaunde, and answering to youre request: I saye, that if to all the demaundes of youre letter, I shall not aunswer with grace and good eloquence, impute the fault to my disgrace, and also vnapt disposition. And the cause of my disgrace endureth not to be wrytten with inke in paper. But it suffiseth a man to be at Court, where he few things to be commended, but many to the contrary. Sir you wryte vnto me to aduertise you of my opinio of y bailiwick of Orihuela, which y Quene

A Sparuedy is the first part of a peny.

X

bathe giuen you, and the garde of the frontiers of Caspe,
 whither the Spawes of Pampe do passe, and they of Affrica do
 enter. To this I aunswere, that you haue to make small ac-
 counte, that the Quene hath giuen you the charge of Iustice
 if god deny you his grace: bycause preheminent offices, by ver-
 tues be conserued, but heroicall vertues amongs offices, do
 runne in perill. In him that administreth Iustice, it is neces-
 sary he haue good Iudgement to giue sentence, temperance in
 his speche, patience to suffer, good counsell to discerne, good dis-
 position to Iustice, and fortitude to execute. If in the budget of
 your household stuffe, you finde your lesse furnished with all
 these kind of goods: you may safely be Judge of Oriuela, and
 also gouernour of Valencia. And if your abilitie stretch not so
 farre, it should be moze sounde counsell for you, to kepe your
 house, than to bring your honour in question and disputati-
 on. Also you wright vnto me, to aduertise you what was con-
 tained in the countesse of Concentaynas letter, which the quene
 shewed me. That which passed in this case, is: that the Earle
 of Concentayna being dead, my Lady the Countesse presently
 did wright vnto her bassalles of her Carthage, a certaine letter of
 the sorow and grieve of hir husbands death: and in the ende
 and conclusion of the letter, they placed according to the man-
 ner of such Ladies and widowes, which is to witte, the sorow-
 full and most vnforsunat countesse, and added ther vnto in
 her place of her firme therof, two great blottes. The letter being
 receyued, and redde by hir bassals, in their counsell befoze all
 men: they aduised to aunswere my Lady the Countesse, and
 also to giue hir to vnderstande, of the sorowe they conceived
 of the death of the Earle hir husband and their Lozde. And it
 seemed good vnto them, that since she hadde changed the stile
 of hir firme, that also they were bounde to alter the stile
 of their letter: In which, the superscription therof saide thus:
 Vnto our sorowfull Ladye and mosse vnforsunate coun-
 tessse of Concentayna: within the upper face of the letter,
 where they place the wordes of curtesy and congratu-
 lation, was after this manner: Righte magnificent and
 most

most soveraign Lady: at the end where was sayd, by the ordinance of his counsell, justice, & gouernours, were made these verses much blotted, in such wise, that according to the tenor of his writing, she answered: My Lady the Countesse receyued no small offence thereof, and yet with good grace she sayd vnto me, that she wished the error had passed by one mans faulte, and not as it was by all their consents. Also you write vnto me to aduertise you how it standeth with Mosen Burell, since the time he receyued that so great distress in Xatima: Sir vnto this I answer, that vnto me he giueth great sorrow to beholde him, and no lesse compassion to beare him: bycause I see hym wander laden with thoughts, and no lesse forsaken of friends. Beléue me sir and be out of doubt, that he falleth not in all this world, he falleth not out of his princes fauour, bycause his fashion or stile of Court is, that the private and in fauour, knoweth not himselfe, & with the fall, and out of fauour, no man will grow acquainted. The houses and Courts of Princes be very fortunate vnto some, & no lesse perillous vnto others: bycause there, either they preyale and growe very great, or else utterly lose themselves. All Courtiers seme to me, to resemble the Bee, or else the Spider: wherein there be false persons in Court so fortunate, that all thinges whereon they lay hands, turneth to golde, and others so vnlucky, that all which they pretend conuertes to smoke. As concerning our Mosen Burell, I can say vnto you, that he is too roughly smoked, as touching his honoy: and no lesse stumbled and falne in respect of his goodes, bycause he hath lost the office that he held, and the credite wherewith he was sustayned. Sir, also you write to me, to aduertise you of the state of the Sonnes of Vasco Bello, your friend and my neighbour: to this I answer, that their parents hauing past their lines in the trade of merchants, they haue conuerted themselves to the state of Gentleman: and to the end you vnderstand me better, I say, they be not of Gentlemen of auncient right, but suche as haue obtayned by prize and purchase; bycause their goodes being consumed, I holde their gentry fully finished. In the state that men ought to be

living, in the same they ought to conserue themselves: for otherwise, of rich Merchantes, they become poore Seruantes. The Sonnes of Vesko Bello haue quartered their goddes, as if they should haue quartered the same by iustice: for the one part they haue giuen to women, another to banquets, another to dice, and the other to wanton deuises, in such wise, that that which their fathers gate in payes, they spend and consume in follies. Sir, also you write me to aduertise you of my iudgement, of a certayne new marriage that they offer you in Villena with a woman that is rich, yong, saye, gentle, and aboue all of good report and fame.

As concerning the first, Sir I can say vnto you, that such a marriage as this, is of many desired, and of few obtayned, because there is not in this world, a woman so perfect and accomplished, y^e hath all in hir, that of hir husband may be wished, & nothing found in hir to be remoued & reiected. There be some Gentlewomen, the whiche if they on the one part be riche, of gentle blond, yong, and saire, they hold on the other part, a certaine ouerthwartnesse in condition, and certain frowardnesse in conuersation, that their husbands hold it for lesse euill to dissemble that they see, than to chide or grow angry for that which they seele. Leauing this apart, Sir you haue to consider, that if she be yong, you are old: and if she be saye, you are hoare headed: and that it is not sufficient that she doe content you, but that she also of you haue very good liking: for otherwise, she walking with a croked face, you shall passe with hir a very tedious life. Amongst the married, it is lesse euill that misliking do happen vnto the man, than vnto the woman: because the husband if he be wise, can dissemble his grieve: but y^e wife, neyther can she dissemble it, neyther yet keepe silence. If the wife which they giue you, be rich, I hold it for profitable: if she be saye, I hold it for delectable: if she be of gentle blond, I hold it for honorable: but if she be yong, I holde it for perillous, because she shall haue wherefore to sigh, to see you so old: and you shall not wai, wherefore to watch, to see hir so yong. I cannot say in together of you both I may lay the blame, or rather which I may

I may not blame you, for choosing, or the in accepting; because a yong. wench of twenty yeares, with an old man of thre score yeares, is a life of two. yeares. Consider well what you doe, and haue regard what you take in hande, and be aduised with whome you marry: for a man of so greate an age, to marry with so tender yeares, from henceforward I prophesy, that either she shall hate you, or else defame you, eyther else finally or make an end of you. Sir, finally I say, that if you will accept my counsell, and escape anger and displeasure, you shall keepe your house, and procure and follow your profit: and if you wilt needs marry, you shall marrie with the fatlings of Algezi, with the lambs of Polop, with the white wine of Monuedro, and with the Claret of Venicarlo, the whiche shall palse you substance, and enlarge your life. No more but that I commend my selfe, to the grace of the Lady Leonora of Villanous. From Granado the xij. of february. Anno. 1526.

A letter to the Chanon Oforius: wherein is declared, that we know not the things that profit or hurt vs in this life.

Ruerende Chanon, Cornelius Rufus in the late time of Omitus Cincinatus, lying one night in his bed in good health, dreamed that he had lost his sighte, so as he was constrained to be lead like a blind man, which afterward was found true, for awaking from slepe he was so deprived of sight, that he neuer after could see either heane or earth. Phalaris the Theban being greuously sicke of a disease in his lungs, enterprised himselfe to enter into battell, wherein he receyued a wound with a speare, and such was his fortune, that he was not only bealed of the hurt which in the battel he receyued, but was also discharged and cured of his former malady. Mamilius Bobulus king of Hetruria receyuing in battaille a wound with an arrowe whiche entred his body vp to the leathers, the same being drawen out, the head thereof remaining still in his fleshe, had afterwarde by fortune.

I honour this good chaunce, one day going to chase, in pursute of
 a Hart was cast downe Horse and man into a ditch, out of
 which mishappe sprang his better lucke, for by meanes of the
 same he was freed from him the arrow head before left and clo-
 sed in his flesh, and became afterwards more healthfull than
 euer he was before. So as we may inferre by that which hath
 bin sayd, that men full little know what is profitable or hurt-
 full to them: sure it appeareth that Cornelius Rufus sleeping in
 his bed became blind, Phalaris the Thebane by hurt of a speare
 recovered remedie of his former sicknesse: and Mamilius by
 mishappe of a fall to receiue happte auoydance of the arrowes
 head whiche before lay closed in his flesh. Wherefore I con-
 clude and say that all the chaunces of this present life haue in
 themselves alone no more good or euill than according to their
 sequelle and effect they bring, so that if we find they haue con-
 clusion to our liking, we count them happte and good: and if
 contrary to our desires and expectatio they bring misfortune,
 vnforsunate and euill, which giueth me iust cause to say that
 we should not for any flatterie of fortune, or of any good hap
 be proude, nor yet for any hir frownings and contrary haps
 despaire. I haue made all this recital before, to gratify your
 new recovered health and the departure of your sicknesse, that
 is to say, that hauing bin three yeares greuously sicke of a
 feuer quartan, there hath hapned to your mind some so greates
 a griefe that the force thereof suffred to drine and beate the
 quartaine from your house, which maketh me once twice and
 thrice to affirme that we know not what to require to be hel-
 ping to be, because diuers times with greates care we seeke
 that we should see and eschue, and we see from that we should
 with all diligence seeke and follow. Amongst the high pre-
 cepts of the diuine Plato this was one, that we should not pray
 to the Gods saying be this or that, but with importunate pray-
 er to require, that it would please them to giue vs that which
 standeth with diuine pleasures best to bestow, and to our needs
 most commodious. The Hebrewes being long time ruled by
 Iudges, demanded of God a King to gouerne them, to whom
 they

they might obey, which God perfozmed, rather to satisfie their earnest petitiō, than of any pzoceeding from his mercifull pleasure: he gaue them suche a person to their King, as it had bin better for the neuer to haue demanded or had any at all. Now be it as it be may, or happen what shall happen, I returne againe to reioyce with you for the departure of your troublesome feuer, and the bitter anger whiche hath chased it from you: though I remember not that euer I red and much lesse heard the Lady Sorrowe at any time caused any good thing to happen vnto vs. I certify you Sir Chanon, if al the diseases might be cured like yours with heauinesse and sadnesse, pensiuenesse and cares would then be moze deere in our hearts, than Rubarb is now in the Apoticaries shops: and if we shoulde buy sighes, sobbes, and teares in the market for money, I assure you very many both men and women would thereby grow exceeding riche and happie, whiche nowe are poore and vnfortunate, because sorrow with euery body is so common, that there is neither corner nor place so secret wherein she is not found. Touching my selfe I tell you, if the sighes I haue breathed, and the sorrow I haue endured, might serue for medicines to cure the quartaine, I would be bound to set vp such a Shoppe of those merchandizes, that it shoulde serue both Spayne and France. I haue seene many in this world whereof some wanted their eyes, some their eares, and some their hands: other some lacke houses, others goddes, and some other apparrell: But I neuer knew nor heard of person were he neuer so poore that had not sorrow and grieve: so is there no house in the world so rich, that sometimes wanteth not money, and of enuies and sorrowes is neuer destitute. Sadnesse saith Salomon drieth the sinowes, and consumeth the bones, which by you cannot be pzoued, since it is apparant, that melancholy sullennesse hath not wasted your bones, but purged your body of all euill humors and restored your health. Now from henceforth, if any one come to visit you when you are sicke, he cannot (as I thinke) moze pleasure you than to giue or minister occasiō to moue you to choler. But sir I curse your complexion and hate your condition, since
anger,

anger, enuie, and sorrowe muste bee your Whistlions to cure your maladies, for men that be reasonable, doe usually geue money to enjoy myght and solace, and to escape som sorrowes and troubles. Now if you will beleue me, and hereafter followe myne aduice, bee gladd for the losse of your quartayne, but say not that you dye him from you with anger & græfe. For I sweare to you by the law of a frende, if you do, that all men wll therfore diffame you, and saye that you are compounded and furnished with cholericke, aduste, and euill complexion: but for this matter let this suffice. There bee many things here in the Courte to be talked of in secretes, and fewe to be witten openly. For murmurings bee matters of counsell, and my letters ofte passe thzough many mens fingers, which when they cannot rightly vnderstand & perceyue their effect, then euerye one iudgeth and gloseth thereof after theyr owne deuise and opinion. I praye God be your guyde, & geue vs grace euermore to feare him.

A letter to Count Masaoth Marques of Cenolte, wherein is expressed why amongst the sectes of Mahomet, some be termed Turkes, Sarracenes, and others, Moores.



Worshipful Lord and singular frende, it is now ten dayes passe since you requested me in the Emperours chāber, to resolue you one doubt, the which to doe I haue searched with payne, and vled what diligence I possibly myghte: holding it but iustice to submit my trauell to your cōmaundement, that neuer denyed me any thing which I requested of you: desiring you withall to respect, that if I seeme long in satisfying your demaunde, it is not want of diligence to searche, but of good happe quickly to finde that which I seeke, and you desire to haue, bycause a man of youre state and calling, muste bee serued with truthe and reason, and not with fabling vncerteynties. Your Lordships desire is to know

know why the greate Turke is termed the Create Turke : and wherefoze the followers of Mahomets scite be called Saracens, some Mozes, and some Turkes, being all of the lawe and religion of their only god and Lord Mahomet: For the discussing of the which doubt, and for that you may the better vnderstande my resolution of the same: I am forced to recite the hystorie to you (as it were from the firste or beginning. Vnderstande my Lord, that *Asia* the lesse is a region whiche with many other Regions is inclosed, all which generally are called greate Turquie: it boundeth towarde the East, on the confynes of *Arabia minor*: on the west it is enclosed with the great lake *Cynia*: and on the north side with the floude *Euphratus*: and on the southe coste it is walled with the mounte *Pithmias*. In this Turquie nere to *Armenia*, by the greate hill *Paton*, was an auncient Citie named *Truconia*, whereof the inhabitantes were named *Truconians*, after the name of the Citie. Within this Citie Gothes did come to inhabite, who bycause they coulde not call it *Traconia*, pronounced and called it *Turquie*, and Cityzens *Turkes*: so that the worde *Turquy* is a name corruptly come from the worde *Traconie*. Within the countrey of *Turquie* is sundry prouinces: as the Prouince of *Licaonia*, whereof the chiefe citie is *Icaonia*: Likewise *Cappadocia*, the chiefe whereof is *Cosaria*: the Prouince *Isanica*, whose heade citie is *Solenna*, which now is called *Briquemust*: the countrie called *Icaonia*, whose chiefe citie is *Fer*, in olde tyme named *Quisguaince*: also *Paslagonia*, whose capitall or Metropolitike towne is *Gernapolis*, in which moste properly ended the whole *Asia*. And as within this cuntry of *Turquy* is conteyned many severall countreyes and prouinces, so hath it euer bene peopled with men of severall cuntries and nations, as with *Assians*, *Greekes*, *Armenians*, *Sarracenes*, *Jacobines*, *Jewes*, and *Christians*: The whiche albeit they acknowledge the Create Turke for chiefe Lord, yet notwithstanding they were not all in obedience to one kind of lawe and religion.

The originall
of the Turkes

The first Saracyns.

This Mahomet was borne in Arabia, issued of the line of Immaell and of a base place: he being an Orphant was sold to a great Merchant, his master dyed, he married his widow, he was instructed in false doctrine by a Moonke named Sergius a fugitive from Constantinople, he afterwards challenged and the people attributed certaine divine veneration vnto him, whych the vnlearned Barbarians were prompt to beleue, so as whē by force of the falling sicknesse he fel, he feyned to the people that he could not endure the brightnesse of the Angell Gabriell, whome he affirmed to celebrate with him the secrets of the highest, with many suche abhominable errours, and such like abuses he abused the people.

In like manner you must note that in the kingdome of Palestina, which bordereth vpon Damas, there were three Arabies, as Arabia Silapide, that now is Siria maior: Arabia deserta, lying vpon Egypt: and Arabia Petrosa, which is compassed with Iudea. In Arabia Petrosa, by the floud Iordanus nere the mount Libanus, ther dwelt an ancient kinde of people called Saracyns, which were so called after the name of Sartato their chiefe and Metropolitane Citie, which at this present he still so named Saracyns. This kind of people in times past were much esteemed for their strength and valiantnesse in warres, and were then had in reputation therefore, as the Swissers are accounted of at this day in Europa; in such wise, that no Prince durst enter, prise against any other to battell, except he were ayded with the strength of Saracyns. It chanced that Heraclius a Romane Emperour passing through Asia to inuade the Persians, requested ayde of the Saracyns in the same voyage and iorney, to whome he promised good vsage and true pay, the Saracyns agreeing to Heraclius request, came thoroughly furnished with 40000 footemen souldiars, whose Captaine generall was a gentleman of their owne countrey called Mahomet, a man subtil in witte, of valiant hart, and fortunate in exployt of war, as he manifested most puisantly by obtayning more honour than any other in the Campe, whereby he grew in dayly reputation amongst his owne companions, and more fearefull than the Wolfe is to the Sheepe, to the hearts of his enemies, which hanging the times of these warres, caused the Emperour Heraclius to fauoure him aboue all others. The warres ended, and licence given for all the straungers to departe, he sent the Saracyns away discontented and not wel payed, which moued them, and their generall Mahomet to rayse mutine and coniration, in suche wise, that they assailed Palestina, whych before they had subdued, and inuaded the countreys of Egypt, Damas, the two Syrias, Pentapolis, and Antioch, without resistance of any person.

Here also you must vnderstande, that Mahomet was by his father a Gentile, and by his mother a Iewe, whych is the cause

cause why he was fostered in *Iudea*. He held on *Sergius* which was infected with the heresies of *Arius* and *Nestor*, a very ambitious man, for his especiall friende. By whome *Mahomet* vnderstanding well, what honour and reuerence the *Saracyns* yelded vnto him: and accompting him selfe their head and chiefe, determined to become their King & lawginer, to the end, as King to be reputed, and for lawmaker to be worshipped. And as thys master *Mahomet* had a Gentile to his father, a Jew to his mother, and a Christian Heretique to his chiefe friend and instructor: so each of them vsed their seuerall lawes: out of whiche thre he determined to elect one, to satisfie, or moze properly speaking, to delude all nations. Thus this miscreant (nothing regarding the soules health, nor due reformation of the common state, but thirsting after the renoune of a Prince during life, and the fame of their lawginer after death) instituted and published a sect, or rather a rabble of abominable preceptes, and detestable counsells: thereby to chaunge the vertuous, and therewith to delight the vicious and wicked.

In the yeare 630. *Heraclitus* inferred and began his warres against the *Persians*, and in the yeare 632. the warres ended. In the yeare 632. *Mahomet* by conquest subdued the greatest part of *Asia*, and in the yeare 636. he gaue his lawes to the *Saracyns* his countrymen, the which he first brought into *Arabia Petrosa*, not by preaching in woꝛde, but murdering with swoꝛd. The gouernment of the East thus resting, it chaunced in the yeare 642. that an infinite number of barbarous people, passing by the streetes of the mountaynes *Caucasus*, to inuade that part of *Asia Minor* that boꝛderech on *Asia Maior*, whose comming brought good successe to the Nations adioynning. These people by discent were of thre mighty rude countries, that is, of the *Scythians*, now called *Persia*, of the *Panonijs* now named *Hungaria*, and of the *Escames* now called *Denmarcia*: whiche barbarians departed south of their native soyle, as it is iudged, constrained with penurie and want of victualls, as also with the Ciuill warres which they had amongst themselves. For

being without a gouernour, they liued by robbing and pilling one from another, euermoze dzing the weakest to the worst. Whereat Mahomet astonied at this their arriual, and seeing the *Scithes* and *Pannonians* dayly moze and moze to endamage *Asia*, and to become so stout, as to furnish themselves with places of defence, he determined with a mighty power of *Saracyns* to encounter them. This thing dismayed the *Barbarians*, and caused them to assemble together, where they chose one *Trangolipique* for their general, a man in warres much fortunate, and in peace most vicious.

Now the warres of the *Scithians* and *Saracyns* grew so hate, so long, and so cruell, that in thre yeares and a halfe was foughten sixe mightie and bloody battells, wherin Fortune declared hir mutabilitie, for to the *Saracyns* she was vnfriendly, and to the *Scithians* nothing fauorable, sometimes giuing victorie to the one side one day, and triumph to the other side on the next day. Which the *Scithians* well noting, and perceiving that their number was muche decreased by meanes of those warres: and also the *Saracyns* beholding the present spoyle of their countrey, they agreed amongst themselves vpon Articles ensuing, to continue friends for euer: that is, that the *Scithes* shoulde receiue the lawe of Mahomet, and that the *Saracyns* shoulde giue them that countrey to inhabite. Whiche accordingly toke effect, and was concluded in the yeare 647. that the *Saracyns* and *Turks* became friends and confederates, and from that time forwarde, did wholly submit themselves to the obedience of Mahomet, taking him for king, and bowing fidelitie to his lawes.

Strabo, *Plynie*, *Pomponius Mela*, and *Gelaton*, whiche haue described all countries in the worlde, make little accompte of *Turkie* befoze suche time as the *Scythas* beganne to inhabite the same, who in the end became so strong, and the Great *Turk* and *Turquy* so famous, as at this day it is reputed one of the most renowned Emppres in the worlde.

How the loue of Mahomet entred Africa.

Vnderstand you, that in the yeare 698. a puissant Pirat named Abeuchapeta, passed from *Asia* into *Africa*; leading with him 70. Gallies and 100. other vessels furnished for his employe, with which he pilld, & pirased, such as he met with, all by Seas, and did also many times much hurt on the firme land. This Abeuchapeta was a man valiant, hardie, and rich; and a Saracyn observing the law of Mahomet, of whome the *Arabian* Historiographers repoze, that he neuer sacked anye Towne that would submit theselues to him, nor raunsomed to libertie any persone that he had taken prisoner. This companion (for so henceforth will I terme him,) vnderstanding that in the Realme of the Moores, (otherwise called the countrie of *Mauritania*, and now called the kingdome of *Marrucos*) were extreme cruell and ciuill warres: he determined to haften thither with his flete, and to establish himselfe Lozde of all: who passing y^e straites *Giberalta*, and being arrived vpon firme lande, immediately practised to acquaint himselfe with one of the chiefe bands of the Moores, by which policie in short time he obtayned afterward to be chiefe of the Realme, and compelled them secretly to accept and obserue the Mahometicall lawes and religion, by killing some and banishing others. Whereby it came to passe, that such as this companion brought thither with him, and the subdued inhabitantes of *Marrucos*, were the first in *Africa* that togthers imbraced the lawes of Mahomet, who as befoze time were alwayes called Moores, do still at this presente and euer after continue the name of Moores or Morisques: so that the inhabitants of *Tunies*, whych be those of *Tunis*, and the *Numidians* whiche are the people of *Fesse*, and the *Maurentines*, which are the people of *Marrucos*, be all generally feared by the name of Moores: though y^e countries do much differ in situation. This then is the resolution of your letter, and the aunswere to your demaunde: that the name Saracyns was first found in *Arabia*, where Mahomet was borne: the name Turkes inuented in *Asia*, where Mahomet

remayned, and the name of Moores establied in *Africa*, when the lawe of Mahomet was there first receyued.

Now resteth it to discover vnto your Lordship, wherefoze this name Greate is attributed to the Turke, seeing it is a title which none but he useth: other Princes being onely and simply called by the names of Kings or Emperours.

For better understanding whereof, knowe you, that in the yeare 1308. when Michael Paleologos was Emperour of *Constantinople*, and Bonifacius the 8. chiefe Bishop of *Rome*. There sprang amongst the Turkes a family of Othomans, much fortunate & famous ouer all *Asia*, in such sort that those Turkes surnamed Othomans, enlarged the limits of their rule, and renuewes of their crowne, moze in 200. yeares, than any of their predecessors had in 800. These Othomans descended of base linage, and were naturally of *Prusca* thre dayes iorneyes from *Trapezencia*. The first Prince of this nation called Othoman, took this name vpon him at his erecting of a Castle in the cuntry of *Gallana*, which he did to perpetuate & memorie of the Othomans name. This Othoman the first subdued many prouinces of the Kings his adioynning neighbours, he won all that which stretched from *Bithynia* vnto the *Sea Caspian*. He brought to his obedience many fortresses, towardes the *Sea Pontick* and all the Cities standing on the *Sea* coasts named *Teutonica*, with the Towne of *Sma*, aunciently named *Sebastia*. Leaving to succede him his only sonne named Orhanees, second Emperour of the Turkes of the race of Othomans, whiche conquered many prouinces from the Emperour of *Pallalagos*: but especially he obtained the countries of *Lycaonia*, *Phrygia*, *Misina*, and *Carye*: he took by force *Prusia*, now called *Bursia*, which was the abiding seate of the Kings of *Bythynia* in whiche he receyued his mortall wound in the first yeare of the raigne of Iohn King of *Fraunce*. To whome succeded Amurathes his sonne, who imitating the steppes of his Father and Grandfather, in passing an arme of the *Sea Hellespont* in *Abidia*, to invade the Greekes, took *Galiapols* with diuers other Townes, and afterwarde suddaynely with a mightie power sette vpon

Othoman.

Orhanees.

Amurathes.

Upon the Emperoz of *Constantinople*, that nothing mistrusted him, and wanne *Serua* and *Bulgaria*, but in the ende he was killed by a seruitoꝝ.

After *Amurathes* succeeded by succession two infants, *Solyman* and *Baiazeth*, which by treason murdered his brother *Solyman*, whereby he alone enjoyed the Empire of *Turkie*, and to reuenge the murdering of his father, he attempted sharpe warres agaynst Marke the Loꝝde of *Bulgaria*, whome he banquished and slewe, and subdued a greate parte moze of his country. Shortly after he ouercame the pꝛouinces of *Hungaria*, *Albania*, and *Valachia*, and there committing many spoyles and dammages, he toke diuers chꝛistian pꝛisoners, which he ledde in miserable captiuitie into *Thracia*, to whiche *Baiazeth* succeeded in right of inheritance two infants, one named *Mahomet*, and the other *Orchanees*, which by his vnnatural brother *Mahomet*, was depꝛined of lyfe, so as the gouernment of the Empire was wholly in *Mahomet*, who by might conquered the *Valachians*, and layde vpon them a greuous tribute: after, he innaded the *Satrapes* of *Asia*, and recouered all the countries whiche the greate *Tamberlens* souldiers befoze had taken: he chased his owne kynred and altaunce from *Galacie*, *Pontus*, & *Capadocia*, not sparing, noꝝ once pitying any noble personages oꝝ pꝛinces of his own bloud. He alwaies kept himselfe in *Drinopla*, the *Petropolike* Citie of *Thracia*, there placing his imperiall seate: from thence exiling such Chꝛistians as were remayning and inhabiting there in the seuenth yeare of his Empire.

So this *Mahomet* succeeded his sonne called *Amurathes*, he ordained first the *Janissayres*, (runnagate chꝛistians to defend his person) by whose valiancie, he together with his successors haue subdued the East. With foꝛce he innaded *Hungaria*, *Bosnia*, *Albania*, *Valachia*, and *Grecia*: he toke *Thessalonica* from the *Venetians*, he obtayned victorie agaynst *Laodislaus* king of *Polo-*
nia, agaynst the Cardinall *Iulian*, and agaynst *Huniades*.

When *Amurathes* was deade, his sonne named *Mahomet*, succeeded in his place, whiche with homicide entred his go-

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uerne.

Solyman and
Baiazeth.

Mahomet
sonne to A-
murathes.

urnement : for, because his father shoulde not be buried alone, hee slewe his yonger brother, to keepe companie with his deade father. This wicked Prince beleued in no God : hee affirmed Mahomet a false Prophete, like vnto himselfe. Hee also scozned all Saints, Patriarches, and Prophetes. This Mahomet was of hearte lyke Alexander the greate, in good fortune a Cesar, in trauell a Haniball, in Justice a Traian, in vyces a Lucullus, and in cruelties a seconde Nero. Hee was of greate courage, well fauoured, euill coloured, friend to Justice, and brybly delyghted in martiall affayzes. Hee was in feeding a glutton, and in the actes of Venus much impatient : To hunting an enimie, and to Musicke no friend. Hee delyghted to exerceyse him selfe sometymes with seates of armes, and sometymes in reading histories. This Mahomet conquered from the Christians the Empire of Constantinople and Trapezonda. Hee wanne twow hundred townees and twelue Realmes, that is to saye : Pontus, Bythinia, Capadocia, Pamphilia, Licia, Sicilia, Paphlagonia, Arabia, Lydia, Phrygia, Hellespont, and Morea : Hee also wanne the Segniories of Achaia, Carcania, and Epyrus, and all the Forres and Cities nere the ryuer Randabelo. Hee likewise obtayned a greate parte of Macedonia, and of the Prouinces of Bulgaria, togyther with the lande of Roscia, and the mountaynes Serbye, euen to the lake Nicomante. Moreouer hee conquered all the Cities, Prouinces, and Forrestes that were betwene Andrinopolis, and the famous ryuer Danubia and Balquian : also the Isle Mitilene, and the foresayde Bosna. These and muche more did this miscreant Mahomet vanquish and subdue. And yet notwithstanding, as Historiographers repozte, hee woulde amongst his wayghtie affayzes consume muche tyme in abhominable vyces. This was hee, whiche firste acqwyzed to himselfe the glorious tytle and name of Create Turke and Emperour, of all the house and Race of Othomans, whose predecessours before his tyme were alwayes intytuled Kings of Turkes. He raygned thirtie two yeres, and dyed of the Collicke foure dayes after.

Mahomet
first of y race
of Othomans,
that tooke on
him the name
of Create
Turke and
Emperour.

for hee syckened, in the yeaere of our sauiour Chzist. 1492. In whiche yeaere of this Tirantes deathe, was the Citie of *Granado* taken by the King Don Ferdinando. To this Mahomet succeeded in Emppye and name of Create Turke, a seconde Baiazeth, who, in his Fathers lyfe, by procurement of the *Lunissayres*, and in the hope of theyr ayde, purposed to vsurpe the State and Emppye to himselfe. And as the father haeyng nowe vertie olde, coulde yelde no remedie noz reuenge to his disloyall sonne, dyed for thought: so was his life, whiche by enemies coulde not be taken awaye, losse by the enuyes of his chyldzen. Now if your Lordshippe desire moze amplie to reade the wyrters of this hystorie, I will when it please you, bying them vnto you. From Tolledo the.7. of Ianuarie, 1533.

To this Baiazeth succeeded Selim, which poysoned his father, because he liued ouerlong, and to Selim succeeded Soliman which wanne Belgra, Hungaria, Buda, and Rhodes.

A letter to Don Frances of Villosa, expounding
certayne straunge and auncient
Epitaphes.



Significant and curious Rynghyt, for answers to the letter whiche Peter de Heredia (maister of youre house) deliuered mee at *Casares* the 15. of the moneth paste. I say, that after I had opened it, I stode long in doubte, whither it shoulde be a letter sent mee from a friende, or the laste will and testament of some one departed: but then, when I better aduised the superscription, I founde it a letter come from Don Frances de Villosa, a friende, nay a singular friende to Fryer Anthonie Gueuara: and to saye truely, after I had perused and considered it, I rather wished two dosen of Quailles, and a gammon of Bacon, whereof you haue plentie, than a sheete of paper: for they woulde haue deliighted myne eyes, and nothing haue troubled my memoize. But notwithstanding this my pleasaunt speache, I deliighted muche in the receyte of your letter: whereby I perceyue that your hurte legge is cured, and that presently

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you omit all tedious assayes, and onely applie your selfe to pleasant pastymes.

Also, I gather by your letter, that you muche desire to vnderstande of the destruction of *Spayne*, and the signification of certayne Epitaphes, whiche you haue founde written in a booke in your coffers, and now you sende the to me to be expounded. For which I cannot yeeld choigne thaks to your gentle hart, which conceyueth of my abilitie suche good opinion, that you iudge my knowledge sufficiente to satisfie you in so high matters. Wherefore to arme my indenoꝝ to incounter your curtesie, I haue most willingly in this my letter sent you the exposition of those Epitaphes, and the discourse of the hystory, which you so much desire, beginning with the Epitaphes, and ending with the rest.

The first Epitaph.

*Semiramis.
Queene of
Babylon set
this Epitaph
by in the name
of hir husband.
Ninus.*

*M*ibi pater Iupiter Belus auus Saturnus Babilonicus: proauus Chus Saturnus Ethiops: Abauus Saturnus Agyptius: Atauus Celus Fœnix Ogiges. Ab Ogige ad meum auum sal orbem suum circumlustrauit semel ac tricies & centies.

Ab Duo ad patrem sexties & quinquagies: A patre ad me bis & sexagies. Columnam, templum, statua, Iani Belo Socero, & matri Rheæ in olimpo Semiramis dicaui.

Semiramis *Queene of the Assyrians* graued this title on a pillar, and dedicated it vnto Belus hir father in law, in the name of hir late husbände Ninus, as then it was vsed amongst the, which words englised, signifie as followeth.

My father was Iupiter named Belus: my grandfather, Saturnus Babilonicus: my great grandfather was Chus Saturnus Ethiops: The father of my greate grandfather was Saturnus Agyptiacus, and the grandfather of my great grandfather was Celus Fœnix Ogiges.

From the time of the fludde vntill Ninus, the sunne hadde perfoꝝmed his course, 330. times. Nemroth raigned, 56. yeares.
Belus

Belus my father raigned, 62. yeares. I Semiramis haue dedica-
ted this pillar, temple, and Image vnto Belus my father in
law, and Rhea his mother in law in *Olympia*.

Now better to make you vnderstand this antiquitie so an-
cient, and this age so old, you must note that these wordes Sa-
turnus, Iupiter and Hercules were not proper names, as Peter
and Iohn be, but they were common names or titles attribu-
ted to men for their excellencies and dignitie, as the names of
Emperours, Kings and Dukes. The most ancient kings that
founded any chiefe Towne or Citie within their Realmes or
dominiōs, were called Saturni, and their eldest sonnes Iupiters,
and their daughters Iuno. Their Nephewes, and the infants
of their chilozen, if they were valiant, were called Hercules.
And therefore when any Princes successors of the sayde firste
founders, did place themselves at any time in other countries
to inhabit the same, and founded any new Cities or Townes
(as oftentimes they did when their auncesters and predecess-
sors had sufficiently peopled such as they before had buylded)
such Princes enioyed a double title, keeping the name of Iupiter
by right of succession, and the name of Saturne, by reason of
their new foundatiō, and so likewise the Princes which sprang
of them by succession, were also named Iupiters in one re-
spect, and Hercules in another: whereof proceedeth the greate
number of Iupiters, Saturnes, and Hercules, wherewith hystories
be so replenished.

Belus was therefore here intituled by the name of Iupiter,
for that he was sonne and successor to Nemroth in the Alsirian
Empire. Nemroth also was tearmed Saturne Babylonicus, be-
cause he first founded the Citie, and peopled the Realme of Ba-
bylon. Chus was also tearmed Saturnus Ethiopicus, for that he
first peopled Ethiopia, and there founded townes and Cities.
Cham for y he first peopled Egypt was called Saturnus Egip-
tiacus. These Saturnius were called chilozen of the Heauens
and of Earth. Thus haue you now heard the first Epitaph ex-
pounded.

The second Epitaph.

The Epitaph
of Cata Man-
lia that was
buried living.

C Man. C. Man. F. inferno Plutoni trisorpori charissimæ Proserpina
tricipitique Cerbero munus mecum ferens, damnatam dedo animam
vitæque. Hoc me condo monumento, ne obrutis domus lapsu filijs sex, quos
Publius Scipio patrijs Camertibus ad Salia ex Libia incolumes restitue-
rat, in desolata orbitate supersum. Vixi an. 56. M. 1. D. 5. boras scit nemo:
vale vita.

The exposition of the same.

ICaia Manlia, daughter to Caius Manlius, do carry with me mine
owne present, for I gyue my condemned soule and life to the in-
fernall three bodied Pluto, and to Proserpina hys most deare
spouse, & to the threeheaded Cerberus. I haue enclosed my self in
this Sepulchre to lyue in care and grieve abandoned and afflicted.
I haue vj. Children slayne most miserably by the fall of a house, af-
ter that Publius Scipio had led them into their countrey of Came-
rin out of Libia traueilling towards Salia. I lyued lvj. yeares, one
monerh, and fise dayes, but how many houres no man knoweth.
Farewell life.

Howe if memozy deceyue me not, and that my booke be
true, this Epitaph was found in our time in Rome, which was
of a woman of Camerin that was burned living, bycause in
those dayes they were so folishe and saytlesse, that they es-
teemed it a thing deseruing prayse, and muchs honozble to
be buried quicke, or violently to murther themselves with
their owne handes: and thus they did to please themselves
and serue the Devil. But lawe diuine and humane doth ma-
nifest notwe vnto vs howe execrable a vice this is, and so
biddeth euery man to procure his owne death, since we haue
our sauioure Chyist the authoz of our life.

The

The third Epitaph.

Belli potens valida natus de gente Gothorum,

Hic cum sex natis Rex Athaulphe iaces :

Ausius es Hispanas primus descendere in oras,

Quem comitabantur milia multa virum :

Gens tua tunc natos & te inuidiosa peremit,

Quem post amplexa est Barcino magna gemens.

The Epitaph
of Athaul-
phus king of
the Gothes.

To vnderstande this Epitaph you must note, that when the Gothes (which were a barbarous and cruell nation of the North) had sacked Italy, as by the ruines remayning it appeareth, Athaulphus the 24. their King, determined to haue ouerrunne Spayne, and to haue spoyled it as they had done Italy, and other places in their way. But when he came and was arrived at Barcelona, he, with vij. of his children, were there by his owne souldiers trayterously murdered and buried, vpon whose Tomb was placed this Epitaph, with his armes, which englished importeth as followeth.

Here lyeth the valiant Athaulphus, with sixe of his children, issued of Gothick blood: this was the first that aduentured to enter Spayne with an Army, slayne with his owne men, and buried with great teares, in the great Citie of Barcelone.

See here the exposition of your Epitaph, and the cause of the same.

It resteth now to reueale the occasion of the destruction of Spayne, and how the Christians lost the same to the Paynims, concerning which you must vnderstande, that in the tyme of the raigne of king Roderic (which was of the line of the Gothes,) there was in Spayne a Prince called Iulian, Earle of Cepta, and Lord of Consuegra: which had a daughter of excellent beautie and incomparable wisdom, named Caba. This Dame fell being sent to the Courte to attende vpon the Quene, so ferue hir according to the manner of the Countrey, was cause
of

The deflowering of a mat-
 re, was cause
 of the ruine of
 Spaine, or
 rather the he-
 resie of Arius
 wherewith
 they were in-
 fected, was
 cause of that
 punishment,

of the destruction of *Spaine*. For the king being surpris'd with
 his loue, (when shee would not agree to accomplishe his in-
 ordinate desires) determined by force, if not by loue to inioyn
 her, being thus oztowned in extreme passions, hee deflowred
 her within his royall Palace. The which when Count Iulian
 vnderstode, hee was hyghly offended therewith, and feeling
 himselfe muche iniured thereby : determined reuenge vpon
 the kings owne person, to the ende he myght make a perpe-
 tuall remembrance of the wrong done by the Prince to him
 and his deflowred daughter.

This Counte Iulian kepte secretely in his stomack, the
 moztall hatred hee bare vnto King Roderic : and when hee
 sawe conuenient tyme, hee made semblance to passe into *A-*
frica with an armie whiche the King had committed vnto
 him, where with to repulse the Moores, whiche then innaded
 the borders of *Spaine*. And hauing conferred of his determi-
 nations with Muzza Linetenaunt generall of that Prin-
 ce, to the greate Miramamolyn Vlit, hee secretely pra-
 ctized with him in this sorte, that if hee would yeelde him
 sufficient supplie of souldiers, hee would put all *Spaine* vnder
 his obedience. The whiche when Muzza vnderstode,
 hee gaue intelligence thereof to King Miramamolyn, who
 did not onely in curteous wise accepte the offer of the Count,
 but also sent him a sufficient army to bying his deuyled pra-
 ctize to effect.

The countrie being nere the straites of *Giberalta*, was
 well furnished with men of great courage. He then folowing
 fortune, being stirred forwarde by his wife, and the iniury
 whiche he had receyued, reflecting all loue of his cuntry, & re-
 nouncing obedience to his Prince : Soderly as hee had im-
 barked his army of Moores in foure ships, and strongly forti-
 fied himselfe, he reuealed to his friends and kindred the iniury
 which the king had done him by deflowering his daughter, and
 requested their friendly succour in his enterpryse so waighty.
 Wherevnto they assenting, sent him aide both of men & mo-
 nie :

Here be the exposition of your Epitaph, and the cause of the same.

It resteth now to reueale the occasion of the destruction of *Spaine*, and how the Christians lost the same to the *Wagging*, concerning which you muste vnderstande, that in the tyme of the raigne of king *Roderic* (which was of y line of the *Gotbes*,) there was in *Spaine* a Prince called *Iulian*, Earle of *Cepia*, and Lord of *Consuegra*: whiche had a daughter of excellent beautie and incomparable in wisdome, named *Caba*. This damsell beyng sent to the Courte to attende vppon the *Queene*, to serue hir according to the manner of the cuntrie, was cause of the destruction of *Spaine*. For the King being surprisid with loving hir (when shee woulde not agree to accomplishe his inordinate desires) determined by force, if not by loue, to inioy hir, so as beyng thus drownded in extreme passions, he deflowered hir within his royall Palace. The whiche when Counte *Iulian* vnderstode, he was highly offended therewith, and feeling himselfe muche iniured thereby: determined reuenge vpon the kings owne person, to the end he might make a perpetuall remembrance of the wrong done by the Prince to him and his deflowered daughter.

The deflowering of a mai-
de, was cause
of the ruine
of *Spayne*, or
rather the he-
relic of *Trins*
wherewith
they were in-
fected, was
cause of that
punishment.

This Counte *Iulian* kepte secretely in his stomacke, the mostall hatred hee bare vnto king *Roderic*: and when hee sawe conuenient tyme, hee made semblance to passe into *Africa* with an armie which the king had committed vnto him, wherewith to repulse the *Moores*, which then inuaded the borders of *Spaine*. And hauing conferred of that which he woulde do, with *Muzza Auenokair* Liuetenaunt generall of that prouince, to the greate *Miramamolyn Vlit*, hee secretely praysed with him in this sorte, that is, if hee woulde yelde him sufficient supply of souldiers, hee woulde put all *Spaine* vnder his obedience. The whiche when *Muzza* vnderstode, hee gaue intelligence thereof to King *Miramamolyn*, who did not onely in curteous wise accepte the offer of the Counte, but also sent him a sufficient army to bryng his deuised praysize to effect.

The

The Ilandes of this country beyng nere the Straites of Gibraltar, were wel furnished with men of great courage. He the folowing fortune, being stirred forward by his wife, and the iniury which he had receyued, reiecting all loue to his cuntry, & renouncing obedience to his Prince: Soderly as he had imbarcked his army of Moores in foure shippes, & strongly fortiffed himselfe, he reuealed to his friends and kindred the iniurie which the king had done him by deflouring his daughter, and requested their friendly succour in his enterprize so waightie. Wherevnto they assenting, sent him aide both of men and monie: so as he tooke all the coastes of *Spaine*, and much of the cuntry for the Moores: whiche was the firste entrie of the Moores into *Spaine*, and was in the yeare of grace, 712.

When the miserable king Roderic had vnderstanding hereof, & that if with speede he ordered not his affaires, he should be in dainger to lose his realme and state: with all the hast possible he assembled an armie to encounter the Moores, and made a nephew of his Captaine generall. But the Moores giuing them the ouerthrow, mangled him & his men in peeces. About which time, another armie of Moores, which the fornamed Mozza had placed in garison in places before subdued, entered and tooke another countrey or prouince. Whiche King Roderic vnderstanding, and perceyuing the Moores daylye to aduance their force, committing to fire and sword all the countrey that they subdued: he gathered together another army, in whiche himselfe in person together with all the Nobilitie of *Spaine*, woulde go to searche out the Moores, which then remayned at *Seres*, and did so in daide: where he made greateslaughter both of the strange Moores, & of his owne Christians. But in fine, the Christian army was bitterly destroyed, & the king losse: in suche wise, that afterwards he could neuer be founde quicke or deade. From this tyme *Spaine* fell into the subiection of the Moores. This battell was ended on a Sunday the fourth of September, in the yeare of our Saviour 714. so as the Moores beyng then victors, might easily make themselves Lordes of all *Spaine*.

The Moores being Lordes of all *Spaine* except *Biscay* & the Mountaines, which is *Aliria* & *Cantabria*, diuided it into kingdomes, as *Cordubia*, *Carthage*, & suche like.

A letter

A letter vnto the Admirall Sir Frederirk, wherein the
Auctor doth touche the maner that in olde time
was vsed on their sepulchers, and the Epi-
taphes that were placed vpon the same.

Curious Admirall & curious Lord, neither doth
it profite mee to bee angrie, eyther to hold my
peace, to exclaime or complayne, neither yet to
cease to make answer: but y alwayes I must
continue in combate with your letters, as also
with your messengers, for absolving your doubts. It is but, 15.
dayes since I answered your letter, and not a month since I
absolved a certaine doubt: I am determined with my selfe not
to answer you to any letter, neither to declare you any doubt
vntill the counsell of Saratan haue considered therof, and they
of Villasmblalo do determine and iudge therein.

To perforce me wherin you request mee, & to execute the case
which you commaund me: I may not deny vnto your Lordship,
that I haue not seene much, heard, passed, & also reade much:
but Ioyntly herewith, your honoz hath to consider, that I am
now become old, wearied & also tired, & go ladē with greates
affaires, which be of necessity, but your doubts procede of will.

I haue sayde & also wzitten vnto your honoz many times,
as you are but of little bodie, & haue that minde so generous &
noble, it should be much to your ease, that you & Alonso Espinel
made exchange, which is to wit, that he should lend you some
more body, wherin that hart of yours might be contained: and
you bestow on him some more heart, for that grosse and so vn-
swelody a bodie. Considering the great vulnes of Alonso Espinel,
and the exceeding spirite & liuelinesse of your honoz: I do not
thinke to be deceined, to vouch that your Lordship is a soule
without a body, & that he is a body without a soule. One thing
doth yet comfort me, which is, that as your Lordshippe nowe
groweth old, and I also, both olde & sickly: we shall not much
wzite eche to other, and much lesse vse mutuall visitation: bi-
cause, as the diuine Plato sayd, that yong men at times die sa-
denly, but olde men may not lue long.

I necessarie
consideration
betwixt will
and necessity.

I harde com-
fort.

Little

In accompte
to be made,
not what wee
liue, but howe
we liue.

A counsell of
Horace the
Poet. *

Little or muche, or muche or little, may it please the king
of heauen, that that which we lyue, we may liue to his ser-
uice, for that we haue no accompte to make, what we lyue :
but howe we lyue.

Leauing aparte both your iestes, and my complaints : I
my Lorde from hence forth am determined to answere your
letters with all bzenitie, as also to declare vnto you all your
doubts : for as Horace the Poet sayth, it appertaineth to wise
men, to shewe a willing minde in that, wherein necessitie
constrayneth.

Coming to the purpose, your hono^r comādeth me, to write
vnto you, y^e maner which they vsed in old time to make their
sepulchers, & the fashion which they obserued in placing their
Epitaphes : for as it seemeth, you meane to take order for your
sepulture, & to deuise for the inuention of your Epitaph. From
henceforth I say and diuine, that all those which shall see my
answere vnto your demaunde, will maruell, & also as it may
chance to laugh, for that I shalbe forced in this place to relate
hystories very strange, and customes neuer heard off.

Plinie in the beginning of his seuenth booke, reciting the great
miseries wherewith man is bozne, & the immesurable trauels
wherin he liueth, sayeth thus: Amongst all the beasts that na-
ture hath brought forth, only man creepeth, onely man is am-
bitious, man onely is proude, couetous, and superstitious,
only desireth long life, & maketh a sepulture wherin to be bu-
ried : moste truly Plinie spake greate troth, bicause all other
beasts, neither riches doth make proude, neither pouerty doth
make sad, neither care to lay vp in store, neither trauell to ga-
ther together, neither weepe whē they be bozne, neither grow
sad when they shall dye : but only trauell for liuing, without
carefulnesse where to be buried. Onely the foolish man is he,
which fetcheth marble from *Gene*, Alabastre from *Venice*, por-
phire from *Candie*, bone of Celose, and Iuoy of *Guinea*: for no
greater purpose than to build a stately chappell, and to erect a
sumptuous sepulcher, where to bury his bones : & the wormes
to gnaw his intrailles. I do not disallow, eyther reproue, but y^e
rather

Errors of
mans life.

*
A superfluous
care.

rather I admit, & prayle, to build good churches, to erect great Chappells, to endue with good doctrines, to paint faire stories, and to make rich ornaments: but to gettly therewith I say, that I hold it for moze safe, that a man trauell and payne himselfe to leade a good life, than make a rich Sepulture. Oh how many poore men which are buried in Churchyards, whose soules reioyce and rest in heauen; and how many, which be buried in sumptuous and stately Sepulchres, whose soules be tormeted in Hell. On that night which Troy was burned, Eneas intreating his father Anchises to depart the Citie, to the end he should not want a Sepulchre, the old man answered *Facilis iactura Sepulchri*, as if he had sayd, There is no lesse grieve ynto manne, than to want a Sepulchre. The King Anchises sayde well in that he spake, since we see the liuing man complayne of the biting of a flye, and of a flea that doth offend him: but of a man that is dead, we neuer heare any complaynt, for any lacke of ringing, or want of sumptuous buriall.

A sound counsell.

A smal boast of Anchises.

Shr of & thi

Ch mei thei An entu ceasi amo

If Homer and Pisistratus do not deceyue vs: The Cithes were the people that with most pomp did burie their dead, and in most reuerence did hold their Sepulchres. Zenophon the Thebane sayth, That the Cithes fleeing befoze Darius, he sent word to knowe how farre they woulde runne: they answered, we Cithes make no great accompt to lose our houses, our fieldes, neither oure childezen, neyther yet our selues, in respect of offence to the Sepulchres of our forfathers: vnto the which whē thou shalt appoche, oh King Darius, there shalt thou see and know, in how much moze we esteeme the bones of the dead, than the life of the liuing.

The Salaminos buried their dead, their backs turned against the Agarens, whiche were their mortall enemies: In such wise, that their enemitie endured not onely in time of life, but also when they were dead.

The Massagedas at the time of death of any man or womā, they draw forth all the blood in their vaynes: and that day all the kindred being assembled, did drinke the blood, and afterwards did burie the body.

As.

The

The *Hirans* did walke the bodies of the dead with wine, and did anoynt the same with a precious oyle: and after the parents had bewailed and buried the dead, they kept that oyle to eate, and that wine to drinke.

The *Caspians* in finishing the last breath were cast into the fire: and the ashes of the bones being gathered into a vessel, did afterwards drinke them in wine, in such wise, that the entrayles of the living, was the Sepulchre of the dead.

A strange
Sepulture.

The *Cibes* held for custome, to burie no dead man, without burying a live man with the same: and if by chance there were not that willingly would be buried with the dead, for money a slave was bought, with violence to be buried with the same.

A violence
without all
reason.

The *Brachians* whiche were a people very barbarous, with smoke did cure the bodies of the dead, as we now use to smoke our Bacon: after at times (in stead of Sparfelmas beefe) by pecemeale to boyle the same in the pot.

An art most
barbarous.

The *Tibirins* did by industrie breede certayne most cruell Dogges, the whiche at the last gasp of the dead, were cast down to y^e Dogs to be eaten & tozne to peeces: in such manner, that the bowels of the Dogs, was the place where the *Tibirins* did burie their dead.

An use of the
Tibirins
most inhu-
mane.

And for y^e it shall not seeme that we speake of fauoure or at large, your hono^r hath to read S. Jerome against Iovinian, & the Poliantea, in y^e title of sepulture, where you shall find all that I haue said, and also much more which we haue omitted here to be written.

Of the sepulture of Belus, of Minus, of Semiramis, of Prometheus, of Ogiges, and of the other kings of *Egipt*, Diodorus Siculus reffereth so many and so fabulous things, the whereby I thinke better to omitte than to write, to avoid his dishonour and mine owne trauell.

The *Cibes* did burie their dead in y^e fields, inclosed with a certayne wood of *Cithia* incorruptible. The *Hebrues* did burie their dead in their inheritances or vineyards: vpon the same they erected a faire tower curiously wrought, & of stone of great choyce. Commonly in olde time they did burie within their houses, or in the midst of their possessions, and so at this present appea

appeareth in *Italy*, that wheresoeuer ye shall find any Tombe of earth & stone, it signifieth that there hath bene erected some honorable sepulture. Foure Sepultures haue bin in *Rome*, most rich and stately: that is to vnderstand, of the great Augustus, whiche at this presente is called the needle of Adrian, whiche now is the Castell Saint Angell: of the good Marcus Aurelius, whiche is erected in the fiede of Mars: and of the valiant Seuerus, which was placed in the Vatican.

The foure notable Sepultures in Rome.

Many Princes, both Greekes, Latins, Romayns, Persians, Medes, Argines, Hebzeues, and Germaines, did make & build many & very stately temples: but we reade of none that commaunded or gaue order for themselves to be buried therein: but in the feldes, and their Temples they did dedicate vnto their Gods. More than thre hundred yeares after the foundation of the Christiana sayth, none at any time were buried with in the Church: whereof it proceedeth, that it is not found in any of the ancient Legends of the martirs, but that such a martyr was buried in Cimiterie of Pretextato, either of Calisto, or els in the house or inheritance of some faithfull Christian.

Long time after the great Constantine, this custome was brought into the catholike Church, to be buried in the same: & it is to be thought, that it rather proceeded of the deuotion of the faithfull, than for any interest to the Cleargy.

Also your honor sayth in your letter, that you hold me for a man both carefull and curious, for whiche cause you suppose, (for that I haue passed diuers times with Cæsar into *Italy*, and haue many ways traueled through *Spayne*.) I shuld haue collected and recouered some Epitaphs of Sepultures, worthy to be seene, and notable to be red. I cannot denie, but that after the manner of a Drunkarde, that venteth for the best wine: so doth mine eyes stare and wander to find out some old Sepulture, that may contayne some thing to reade, or sentece or Epitaph worthy the writing: and as I haue traueled many & diuers lands & prouinces, I haue sene many & very ancient sepultures, in which I haue found some writings graue, some sharpe, others deuout, some malitious, some gracions, & some

A commendable manner of drunkenness.

in such wise, that some are to be noted, some to be scofft, and others to be laughed at. If I had thought that any would haue bene so curious, as to haue craued or demaunded them, as I haue bin carefull and curious to search and find them: I would haue held them in those estimatiō, and also haue commended them to moze safe keeping: for of them I haue lent, giuen, lost, and some haue bin stolen, and othersome I haue reserved.

But the case shall be thus, I will send vnto your Lordship all manner of Epitaphs, whiche is to vnderstand, suche as bee graue, malicious, foolish, and some that be gracious: for that in good your honor hath to note, & in the other wherat to laugh.

In an Hospitall of the incurable, that is in Naples, Caesar vpon a certayne festiuall day did heare seruice, where I saw in the great Chappell, a Tombe of a yong gentleman, whereon his old mother had placed this lamentable Epitaph.

*Quæ mihi debebas, suprema munera vitæ,
Infelix soluo, nunc tibi nate prior,
Fortuna inconstans, lex & variabilis æui,
Debueras cineri iam superesse meo.*

In the same kingdome and Citie of Naples, vpon another festiuall day, Caesar wēt vnto a stately Monasterie of Nunnes of S. Clare, wher I found a Tombe of a certaine gentlewoman betrothed, which hapned to die the same weeke she shuld haue bin married: vpon whome hir parents bestowed this lamentable Epitaph.

*Nateheu miserum: misero mihi nata parenti,
Vnicus vt fieres, vnica nata dolor,
Nam tibi dum virum, sedas, thalamumq; parabam,
Funera & inferias, anxius ecce paro.*

In the Citie of Capua, I found a Sepulture very old, and in a manner defaced, in which these letters were ingrauen, although very short, yet comprehending much.

*Fui non sum,
EHis non erit.*

In the Citie of *Gaieta*, one of the strongest vpon the Sea coast in all *Italy*, being there with *Cæsar*, I met with a Sepulchre not of the oldest, vpon which were written these words.

Siluius Paladins,
Vt moriens viueret,
Vixit: vt moriturus.

In *Rome* walking the Stations of *Saint Paule*, passing at greate leasure beholding the Church: I encountred with an old Sepulchre vpon the ground: on the stone whereof these words were ingrauen.

Hospes quid sm vides,
Quid fuerim nosti,
Futurus ipse, quid sis cogita.

In the Monasterie of *Minerva* in *Rome*, whiche be of the order of Preachers, I sawe in a certaine Tombe written these words.

O mors, O mors, O mors,
Ærumnarum portus,
Et meta salutis.

Cæsar being in the warres of *Africa*, the Viceroy of *Cicilia* died, which was called the Earle of *Monteleon*, Lord of *Calabria*. And soz that by iustice he did cutte the throte of the Earle of *Cambrato*, and with him many others, the *Cicilians* did deadly hate him soz the same. The cause was thus, being buried in *Saint Francis of Mezina*, by night they added this title vpon his Sepulchre, as I was aduertised by the warden of the house.

Qui propter nos homines,
Et propter nostram salutem,
Descendit ad inferos.

Anth.

In the yeaere a thousande five hundred twenty and three,
comming out of Fraunce by Nauarne, in a little Churche in *Viena*
not farre from *ſ* Crowine, I ſaw an Epitaph vpon the Tomb
of the Duke Valentine: which without wꝛiting, I commended
vnto my memoꝛie: and as I thinke thus it ſayd.

Here lieth clad in a little clay,
That mortall men did feare,
VVhich in peace & war the ſul whole ſway,
In all this world did beare.

O thou that goeſt with care to ſeeke,
VVorthy things of prayſe moſt meete,
If worthy things thou wouldeſt prayſe,
Here thou haſt to direct thy wayes,
And therein farther to ſpend no dayes.

In the warres of *Lumbarde* there dyed an auncient ſoldier,
which was valiant and meanely rich, who was buried by
his friends in a little Willage betwixt *Plazentia* and *Voguera*,
an whole Sepulture were wꝛitten theſe wordes.

Here *Campuzano* doth lie,
VVith whoſe ſoule the Diuill did flie,
But his goodes had *Sir Antonie*.

In *Alexandria de la Palla*, I found another ſoldier buried in
the Churche within the Caſtell; vpon whoſe Sepulture, that
is to ſay, vpon *ſ* wall, I ſaw wꝛittē with a Cole theſe wordes.

Here lieth *Horoceo* the Sergeant,
VVhich liued playing,
And died drinking.

In the Citie of *Aſſe*, when *Ceſar* went to make warre in
France, we ſtayed certayne dayes: A ſouldier was buried in
the maſe

the monasterie of Saint Francis, & as it seemed being very
poore, made his will very rich, vpon whose Sepulture ano-
ther Soldier placed these words.

Here lyeth Billandrando,
VVhich all that he had did not let to play,
And that which he had not he gaue away.

In the Citie of *Nisa*, we buried an honorable soldier that
had bin Captayne: but in the morning, and at night, with a
Cole I saw wrytten vpon his Tomb these words.

Here lieth the Soldier Billoria,
VVhose body to the Church by his frieds did send,
But his hart to his loue he did incommende.

In a place of *Spayne* which shall be namelesse, I founde the
Sepulture of a certayne Gentlewoman, vpon whose Tomb
these words were wrytten.

Here lieth the Lady Marina in earthly presse,
VVhich died thirty days before she was countesse.

In the .18. yeare, I being warden of the Citie of *Soria*, going
to preach to the Camp of *Gomara*, in a little Willage I encoun-
tered with an old Sepulture, vpon the stone whereof were
wrytten these words.

Here lieth bald Iohn Hulsillo,
VVhich taught boyes to swimme,
And wenches to daunce very trim.

This yeare past, in visiting my Bishoppick of *Mondonedo*,
I found in the Archdeaconschip of *Trafancos*, in a little Church
by the Sea side, an auncient Tomb, which they sayd was of a
gentleman naturall of y place, which had these words wrytten.

Here lieth Vasko Bell,
A good Gentleman and a fell,
The which neuer drew his sword indeede,
That made any man euer to bleede.

Going for Custos of my prouince of conception, in a general Chapter, ioyntly with certayne religious Boxtingalls of my order bound to the same place: amongst the which the warden of *Sanctarem* a man both wise and learned, vnderstanding me to haue delight in old things, sayde that in his Monasterie, vppon a Tombe of a Boxtingall Gentleman were written these words.

Here lieth Basko Figueira,
Much against his will.

An amplification
upon a
small cause.

So high a sentence, so delicate words, and so certain a troth as this, as God saue me might not proceed, either be inuited, but of a man of an high & delicate iudgement: they were spoken in Boxtingall, in a Monasterie of Boxtingall, in the behalfe of a Boxtingall, and a Boxtingall saide them: whereof I gather vnto my selfe, that the nobles of Boxtingall be wise in their attempts, and of sharp iudgement, in what they speake. To my iudgement, my appetite, & to my tast and liking, to this daye I haue not heard or read a thing so gracious, as this letter of that Sepulture: because, ther may not be said a greater troth, than to say that Basko Figueira, or any other persone, is in his Tomb much against his will. What Sepulture is in this world so rich, wherein any man desireth to dwell, or wisheth to be buried, what man is so insensible, that would not rather liue in a narrow house, than in a large and ample sepulture. Not only Basko Figueira lieth in his sepulture against his will, but also the Machabees in their Piramides, Semiramis in her Polintie, the great Cyrus in his Obiesko, the god Augustus in his Columna, the famous Adrian in his Mole magno, the proud Alaricus in his Rubico: All whome if we coulde denaunce of them, and they answere us, would sweare and

and affirme, that they dyed without their owne consent, and were buryed agaynst their willes. My Lorde Admirall from henceforth I diuine, that if Basko Figueira lyeth deade in his sepulture agaynst his will: with an euill will I dare auouché you will bee buryed in yours, although moste certayne the chappell is riche, and your Tombe very stately.

Your hono^r hath to vnderstande, that I thought good to enlarge this letter, to the end you should haue, wherat to maruel, and also wherewith to laugh with a protestation that I make, that if you wryte agayne within this halfe yeare, I wyll refuse to answere: so; that I haue in hande certayne workes of myne owne, presently to be p^rinted, and after to be published. No moze, but that our Lorde be in your keeping. From Valiodelid, the. xxx. of Marche, 1534.

A letter vnto Sir Alphonse Manrique, Archebishop of Ciuill, wherein is declared a certayne passage of holy Scripture, conuenient to bee read of Iudges and prelates that be cruell.



Right Noble and pitifull Prelate, if your reuerend Lordship do conceyue that so; the gallant baye mule which you haue sent me by Orlande your Stewarde, I shoulde submit my selfe to do you great service, eyther to render greate thanks, ye are greatly deceived: so; although she be both faire and good, I haue wonne and gayned the same by a sentence pronounced agaynst your hono^r, so; the costes of proceffe, and the amendes wherein you are condemned, when your moste reuerend Lordship and the Duke of Naxarra, vpon a certayne contention did elect me for your iudge: which is to wete, where the situation of Sagunto shuld haue stande, and the renowned Neomantia shuld haue bene: wherein to determine and verifie your doubts, I studied very

A. A. v. muche

much, and traueled not a little. And since you are condemned in a spile, and consented vnto the sentence, once againe I aduertise your honoz, that I will neyther restore hir, and muche lesse pay for hir. My Lord the Duke of Naiarra your brother, at Courte doeth dayly threaten me, that eyther by violence he will take hir from me, or else cause hir to be stolen: tober, soze I humbly pray your honoz, to commaunde that he leaue me in peace, other wise I promise you, to proue vnto him, by my auncient histories, that the borders and limites of Naiarra, haue bene two leagues within the Duchie.

But now setting aside all testes, to speake in earnest, I shall performe with right good wyll, what your honoz doeth commaunde, as touching the exposition of the passage in Exodus, which I preached last in the presence of Cesar.

An exposition
of the 25. cha-
piter of Exo-
dus.

In Exodus, the 25. chapter, it is wrytten, that our Lord God sayde vnto Moyses: *Emundatoria quoque facies, & ubi ea que emundata sunt, extinguantur, sicut de auro purissimo.* As if he would haue said, About the lampes of the Temple, thou shalt haue snuffers of most fine golde, to snuffe withall: and also thou shalt make a basen of gold, wherein to laye the same.

A necessary
maner to ex-
pounde the
Scriptures.

But now to vnderstande this text very well, it is conuenient and necessary to take holde of the Scripture farder of, and moze deeper: bicause in the profound and delicate passages of the holy scripture, it doth muche impoete to declare the texte from the bottome and very rote.

Wherein it is to be noted, that immediatly after our Lord God had deliuered the children of Israell out of the country of Egypt, he gaue them a lawe to obserue, Priestes to informe them, magistrates to gouerne them, a land to inhabite, Manna to susteyne them, and a tabernacle to praye in. The curious reader shall find in the Psalmes and Propheets, many times these names repeated: that is to saye, Tabernacle, Sanctuarie, Aultar, Propiciatorie, *Sancta Sanctorum.* Which names although they were verified in the synagoge of the Iewes, there was notwithstanding a difference of the one and other. Tabernacles among the Iewes was as muche, as among the

the Christians at this present we call Church. The order whereof although it be difficile to write, neuertheless it is very mysticall, and worthy the vnderstanding.

In the middes of the hoste, where the Hebrewes did aduance their pavilions, they left a certayne space of an hundred cubites in length, and fiftie of breadth: where on both sides they erected two stately pillars, which did serue for distinctions or separations of the rounge for the Priests from the people. All which place as well in length as breadth, the Israelites did name Tabernacle, whiche is as much to saye, as a place dedicate onely to God. In the middes of this tabernacle, was placed a solemne and a magnificent altar, where vpon the sacrifice was done: there was also the greateson of water, where the Priests did walke: and for that vnto that place, and no further, the Israelites might not enter, it was named *Sanctuarium*, which is to say, a place sanctified.

A description
of the Tabernacle.

Within the Sanctuarie there was another separation, of the space of thirtie cubites in length, and ten of breadth, made of *Sittim* woodde, and alofte hauing the fashion or forme of heauen, it was couered with a triple conecture, whereof the one was made of red shepes wolle, the other of goates beare, and the other of Taxus skinnies, whiche was for defence of the rayne and Sunne. Under this sayde heauen, and in the middes of this sayde place, there was the holy table, vpon which was sette the holie bread, called the loaves of proposition, and the holie incense, and other swete odours. This place here named, was called the holie Tabernacle, because the Priests onely myght enter: vnto the whiche place no other person would adventure to approche.

In the middes of this tabernacle ther was a great curtaine strained betwixt the pillars, within the which was the tabernacle of witnesse: wherein also was placed the tables of the law, the Manna of heauen, & Aarons rod. This place was intituled the holy of holies: wherin the high Priest might enter once a yeare. Within the sayd Arke there was a table of fine gold, somewhat more long than broad, wher on were placed two Cherubins.

Cherubins of golde at euery corner, their wings alofte stretched abzoade, beholding eche other. In the middes betwixt the cherubins, there was a darke clowde, within the whiche was the Angell that gaue answeres, as God commanded: And also answered what the good olde Moyses determined. In this place where these cherubins are, was the moste secrete and sacred of all the tabernacle. This place was called the *Propitiatorie*: bycause in that place, the Lord God did manifest himselfe moze propice and neare, as well to pardon, as to answer them. Besides the *propitiatory*, and neare the aultar of the tabernacle, night and daye was fire, wherein also they did burne the holocaustes, sacrifices, and oblations.

Within the tabernacle and *propitiatory*, ten paces or there aboutes off the mercie seate, or *Sancta Sanctorum*, was placed a magnificent candelsticke of fine golde: whereon were fyred fire lampes full of oyle Olyue, which did burne day & nyght, to giue light to the tabernacle. Here it is to be noted, that neither in the auncient Tabernacle of Moyses, either in that famousse Temple of Salomon, it was not commaunded, either permitted to burne tallowe candels, eyther tapers of ware, but lampes of oyle: for the mysterie of the ware, the onely woorkmanshippe of the hony Bee, was left to lighten the Catholicke Church. And bycause the Tabernacle, the Sanctuarie, the Aultar, the mercy Seate, and *Sancta Sanctorum*, were holie places, and edified onely vnto God: The law commaunded they shooulde be decked, nete, cleare, and gladsome: and not foule, or fylthie. Wherefoze the Priestes had alwayes neare vnto the candelsticke, snuffers of golde to snuffe the lampes, and a basen of golde, incontiently to place and put out that whiche was snuffed. Beholde the litterall sense, and that whiche was permitted in the Synagogue, now ryght reuerende, it is greate reason that we declare what we vnderstande as touching these snuffers, and the snuffing of the lampes.

The

The signification of this discourse touching the
mysterie of the sufferers of Golde.

Surely a thing while the nothing, & also to be marvelled
at, that fire or flame, being a thing that doth purifie, muni-
feste, and giue light: notwithstanding it thoweth from it selfe
and produceth fume and smoke, bothe tedious and stinking:
and therefore I would glably demaund of him that shal heare
or reade the same, what he woulde answere, whereof it is, A question,
What the aultar being holy, the Tabernacle holy, the Propi-
tiation holie, the Arcke holie, the candlesticke holy, and all
that there is, holy and blessed: notwithstanding there remaineth
alwayes in the Temple, to clippe, to rete, to purge, to
snuffe, and wherupon to set the foote. We haue hereby to vn-
derstande and to inferre: That there hath not bene, neyther
is there any nation, congregation, common wealth, estate, or
person so holy, so perfect, or so reformed, that there is not in
the same to be amended, or else purged, wiped, & also snuffed.
For to say the troth, we see no person lyue so well, that might
not, and ought not to liue better than he doth.

In imperfec-
tion of all
estates.

And bothe cometh it to passe, that any dare rasonize for
Saint the most holy man in this worlde: seeing the scripture
sayeth, The childe new borne to be in sinne. God finding cau-
ses to chasten the Angels, doth he not finde wherfoze to purge
and snuffe men?

A note for the
Dope and pa-
pistes.

He that heareth the royall Prophete David speake after
this manner: *Ece enim in iniquitatibus conceptus sum, & in peccato
concepit me mater mea*: Durste he peraduenture say, that in him
was no sinne?

And God sayde vnto Noe, *Quod omnis caro corruperat viam suā*:
what may he be, that will saye, he had no sinne, considering
that God condemneth the vniuersall worlde of sinne?

Since the Psalmist sayeth with most cleare voyce, *Omnis
homo mendax*: how comes it to passe, that any dare excuse him-
selfe of sinne? The scripture saying thus, Adam sinned in ea-
ting of the defended frute: Cain sinned in killing his brother:
King

King David sinned by his adultery: Ionathas sinned in eating the honey: Absalon in conspiring against his father David: and also Salomon sinned by idolatry. When since these glorious personages be fallen downe flatte, is there any person, that may thinke himselfe safe from stumbling?

And in the name of God, I craue to be answered, for what cause did the diuine Paule cry, saying: *Qui se existimat stare, videat ne cadat*; but to the ende that euery man shoulde consider with himselfe, that he is fallen into sinne, or that shortly he may fall into sinne?

An example
not to be for-
gotten,

He that considereth the moste unfortunate fall of Iudas the disciple of Iesus Christ, accompanying Iesus Christ, and hearing Iesus Christ: dareth he aduenture to trust and haue confidence in himselfe? Since we are descended of sinners, haue taken our byrth of sinners, be conuersant with sinners, and committe so enormous and deadly sinnes: say we not most true, that they be most vnjust, which affirme & esteeme themselves for iust and righteous?

I admitte that euery man say what he will, and performe of himselfe what he thinketh good: For if I will confesse the troth, that in mee there is many things to be amended, many things to be clipt, or shorne, many things to be purged, and so too much to be snuffed.

No smal part
of iustificatiō,
to confesse our
sinnes.
And yet vn-
perfect with-
out correctiō.

And surely, if tenn small parte of Iustificatiō, to confesse our faultes: notwithstanding the confession sufficeth not, if we do not enforce our selues to correction. For if a candell haue too long a smutte, it sufficeth not a little to dresse and rect, but to snuffe the same. And for that, if in this whole worlde there were but one vice wherein we myght fall, all men woulde beware thereof: But seeing there be so many quagmires, wherein to be myzed, it is a thing too common, that if we sincke not to the bottome, at the leaste we remayne all bempyzed.

If we wyll haue the candle cleare, and of himselfe gyue lyght, it is very necessary that he be oft snuffed. By this that I haue sayde, I woulde say, that the man that hath shame in his

his face, and woulde pzeferre his conscience, presently when he hath committed the faulte, he muste determine to amende. For if he once harden his conscience, late or never both hee amende his life.

To this purpose the wise Salomon sayde, *In paucis in profundum malorum venerit, contemnit*: as if he should say, he that the Lorde doth refuse to succour with his mercifull hande, deferring from day to day to amende, he goeth deeper and deeper to the bottome, being clad in such manner with sinne, as he in no wise wyll yeelde to correction.

Wherefore God in commanding that at the soote of the lampes that shyneth in the Temple, there should be snuffers to snuffe them, it is no other thing, as mee thinketh, but that every man ought to take with him: to be instructed, in that whiche he ought to followe, and removed from his error wherein he is offended. For in his owne cause, it is not permittible for any man to be Judge of himselfe.

But how contrary is the fashion at these dayes in this miserable worlde. The glorious Apostle S. Paul sayde, *In novissimis diebus coacerabunt sibi magistros priuantes uerbum*, which is, They shall more delight to haue with them, flatterers to deceyue them, than directors by good counsell to aduise them.

I returne to say and reiterate, that it is no other thing to commande to haue snuffers nigh the candlestickes, than to geue vs to vnderstande, that we ought often to accuse our selues to purge our conscience. For if it be necessarie in one houre, three or foure tymes to snuffe the candle, it shall not be ouermuche, that every wake at the laste, once or twice to purge and snuffe the soule. The candle hauing a greate shaft, may not well geue light, when the soule laden with sinnes, may haue no merite. And therefore it is necessarie to geue and imagine manye, as to a lampe, or to snuffe him well as a candle, because, sinne that becometh ingrodden old, be difficulte to correcte, and hard to amende.

Nota

Contempt of amenderments, yeideth bitter confusion.

A change of fashion.

*

The vnder-
standing of the
snuffers of
most pure and
fine golde.

Wherein it is also to be understode, God commaunded that the snuffers, wherewith they shoulde snuffe the lampes, and also the basen wherin they shoulde lay the snuffers, to be not of grosse, but pure and moste fine golde, to geue vs to vnderstande, that the King, the Prelate, the Judge, the gouernour and giver of chastisement, ought not to containe in themselves any vice, wherfore to be shorne, clipt, or snuffe: for that it is not per mittable by the lawes humane or diuine, that one these should iudge another these to be hanged.

The snuffers
of leade or
iron to be
noted.

And then are the snuffers of leade, or of yron, when the Judge or gouernour is of a life lesse honest, in his speache inordinate, and wherein he iudgeth of partiall affection. For other wise it shall be more expedient, to keepe and purge the snuffers, than to snuffe the Candelles.

Notable qua-
lities of a
magistrate.

And then be the snuffers of fine golde, when the Judge or Prelate is of a sincere life: modest in his purposes, zelous of his Common wealth, & a right Justicer, as also by the voyce of common consent to haue nothing wherof to be amended, and lesse to be desired.

A notable ex-
ample of king
Dauid.

Faciebat Dauid iudicium & iustitiam omni populo. This is written of Dauid in the seconde booke of Kings, which is as much to say, That the good king Dauid did sitte openly giuing audience to euery man, and doing iustice to all men. Certaynly there be many, that as Judges do heare all in publike: and smal is the number which giueth right to all men: And some that do iustice vnto diuers, but not many that equally minister iustice to all men. Which ought in no wise to be done, much lesse to be consented vnto. For the lawe ought not to go as the king willet: but rather the king as the lawe willet. And mooves most certainly to be noted, and to memoize, be incommended, by the which is sayde of the good king Dauid, not by the hands of another, but of himselfe: not in his house, but openly: not once, but euery day: not to one person, but to all the people: not that he would pasc long them, but it is sayde, from the present hour, in which he beaues them, he did blesse and put them.

To be incomm-
mended to the
memozy of
Princes.

The

The Judges that God did constitute and send into diuers places, all haue bene holy and iust, which is to say, Noe which was sent against the idolaters, Loth that was sent against the Sodomites, Moyses against the Egyptians, Helie against the false prophetes, and Daniel against the false Judges. Notwithstanding they found much wherefoze to correct, yet in them there was not founde any thing whereof to be snufft. And therefore of the Prelate, which is wise, vertuous, and not cruell, all men take pleasure to be aduised of their negligences, and corrected of their faultes. But if such a one be absolute, or dissolute, with greate griefe they indure to be chastised.

Neither serueth it to great purpose, that the snuffers wherewith we snuffe the candell, be of golde or siluer, if in the place of snuffing, we dowte the candel: whereby I would say, that the true Judge or Prelate ought to conceyue better of himselfe, to be pitifull, than rigorous, stretching his intention rather to amend the fault, than discredite the sinner. With snuffers of gold both he snuffe the candell, when the Judge or prelate do chastice the mischiefe, and on the other parte bath pitie on the offender. For otherwise God will accept the patience of him that is corrected, and condemne the will and skilwarde disposition of him that correcteth.

A note for Judges.

Neither is it also without mysterie, that God commanded in his law, that vnder the holy candlesticke the snuffers shold be placed, & the basen of golde, wher in they shold bestow the snuffings of the lampes. For in the sacred Scripture, there is no word that is not mystical. Surely I suppose it is no error to say, that the Candlesticke is the Church, the candell the sinner, the snuffers the Prelate, and that whiche is snuffed, is sinner: which God commaundeth to be snuffed, and incontinently in water or sand to be cotered, to the end it do not offend or grieve it selfe vnto him that snuffeth the same. And therefore the Judge or gouernor of a common wealth, ought curiously to consider, not onely the arte of correction of faults, but also whiche choiceth the preserving of credite. And it is no other thing, when God willeth, & presently after the snuffing of the lampe, the snuffe shold be buried, but y^e sinner be chastised, & not dishonored.

Nota

An excellent exposition.

Wb. f.

Admittin

Admitt'ng that our Lorde Iesus Christ had sinne in great horroz, notwithstanding hee did not hate the sinner. For he himselfe sayde, *Nō veni vocare iustos, sed peccatores.* And of him thus was sayde, *Hic peccatores recipit, & manducat cum illis.* The Lorde & redemptor with golden snuffers did snuffe the lāpes, and in a golden bason did lay the snuffers, when he called sinners; did preache to sinners, & was serued of sinners, having no disdayne to haue them in his companie, and to sitte with them at one table.

In example
to be embraced

Nota

If we ought to vse our skill in snuffing the candles, muche moze delicately we ought to correct sinne, whiche to say, that the correction be in secrete, discrete, and done with Christian charitie, and not as a Prelate or Judge cruell and inhumane. Iesus Christ vnderstande very well, that Iudas should sell him and deliuer him into the hands of the Iewes, and yet notwithstanding he washte his feete, did communicate as with his other disciples, did sitte at table with him, and gaue him leaue to talke and conferre: to gyue vs to vnderstande, that with such modestie we should correct the faults of our neyghbour, that by no meanes we should hinder his credite.

In this wretched world, that which we snuffe from the candle, we cast vpon the ground, and treade vpon with the feete, I would say, that from the houre that a poore sinner committeyth any notable crime, from thence forth he is abhored of all men, and likewise defamed, as though we were not accusomably vs'd to prosecute sinne, beholde sinne, and committe offences. I assure your Lordship, that if all men which know to sinne, that be giuen to sinne, & glorie themselves to haue sinned, shoulde saye or dye: we should then haue small cause to build houses, neither yet to sowe wheate. But it is not so, nor hath bin so in the house of God. For that which was snuffed, was layd in the bason of golde, to giue vs also to vnderstande, that he which sinneth by frailtie, either doth erre by negligence, we ought not presently to defame, and much lesse to dishonour.

For that God
pardoneth sin-
ners, it is con-
uenient that
sinners do
pardon eche
other.

For if God which is most inured, giue pardon, there is no reason that another sinner as greates, shoulde condemne him.

Beholde

Beholde most noble and my god Lozde, what it is that I vnderstande as concerning this passage, and that which I preached vnto the Emperoz in the pallace at *Madrid*, the, 12. of August, Anno. 1527.

A discourse made vnto Queene *Elenor*, in a sermon of the transfiguration, wherein is touched by an high style, the greate loue that Christe did beare vs.



Right high and magnificent Princes, the moste auncient among the Auncientes, and the most famous amongst the famous Adages oz Prouerbes, is the same whiche was gyuen by the Oracle of Apollo vnto the Oratoz of Rome: whiche is to witte, *Nescit ipsum*: and, *Ne quid nimis*: As if he woulde haue sayde, All the weale of the common wealthe is contayned in that, that euery man do knowe himselfe, and that none do manifest himselfe, his oedes & atēpts extreme. Inasmuch as that presumption, & to great selfe lyking, impoꝛteth danger, and euery excesse likewise, and leadeth vnto trauell. Wordes moze bylese, and sentences moze compendious certaynely myght not bee spoken, eyther found in wytyng: For that (to say the troth) if euery man did consider with himselfe the small worthynesse that he contayneth, he woulde not so lpghtly iudge of others, and if no man woulde so extremely determine to perfourme his wyll, so manie errors, violences, and faultes woulde not be committed.

And soꝛ that cause, the man that is in his conuersation presumptuous, and in his affayres headstrong, vnbzꝓdeler, and opiniatiue, no man ought to beare him enuie, oz impaire his rent, since he roweth agaynst the streame, and fysheth agaynst the winde.

To rowe agaynst the streame, and fysh agaynst the winde.

To eate too much, is extreme and excesse: too much colde & to greate heate, is the same: greate aboundance & miserable

Wb. 15.

pouertie

The notes of
Vertue.

The garments
wherewith a
foole is clad.

pouertie is likewise extreme, whereof we may inferre, that onely vertue is that, which is equall in ballance, and that onely is vice, that endureth no equalitie. One man to cal another man extreme or excessive, is to touche him with to greate iniurie, considering that euery man which is heady and extreme, he is not farre from the state of a foole. Insomuch that follie is no other thing, but when a man without respect doeth all things to his owne liking.

Then I demaunde if this be true, as it is, wherfore sayeth the Gospell, that vpon the Mount of *Thabor*, Moyses and Helie did talke with Iesus Christ, of the greate excelsse which he should vse and perfoyme in *Ierusalem*.

Truly these be words very straunge, the perfectiō of God being such, y his power serueth not to comit any thing superfluous, neither yet defectiue in any thing he taketh in bande. And what is he that dareth to saye, that there is any thing, which he cannot do: or perfoymeth y which is not reasonable?

Then presently lette vs examine the life of the good Iesus Christ, and we will see if we can finde, wherin he hath bin extreme, or wherein he hath vsed excelsse, since we all confesse, that his life hath not bin but as a clocke to gouerne vs, and as a butte whereto shote.

Neither are we able to saye, that he committed any excelsse in eating or dzinking, for presently after he was baptized, he wēt to fast in the desert fortie dayes & fortie nights on a rake.

And lesse did Iesus Christ vse excelsse in his apparrell, since it is not found witten that he had moze than two coates, and yet went bare foote.

Not in sleeping, eyther in recreating that he vsed excelsse: since that many times he passed the night without rest, slepe or lodging, and tyred with trauell, was diuē to repose vpon the welles side of *Samaria*.

Not in wordes, eyther in his Sermons, since his enemies did saye, that neuer any man spake so little, so well, and with suche modestie.

Not in the lawe which he hath giuen vs, eyther in the precepts

reptes which he hath ordeyned : for he hath not commaunded in his Gospell any thing whiche is prophane : and in recompence he hath promised the obseruers thereof life euerlasting.

Neither hath he vsed excesse in hourding of treasures or other comforges of mans lyfe : for that he lyued Apostolike, and all those of his colledge, whiche partly lyued of Almes, and did eate eares of corne in the fieldes for necessitie.

And to say the troth, and to speake clerely of this matter, the excesse and the greate extremitie whiche the blessed Iesus committed, was not, as it is sayd, in drinke, eating, sleeping, or in any other thing, but only in loue: for all his other woorks and actions were finished, except the loue which he did beare, that was infinite and had no ende. And therfore if any would ballaunce the griefes, sorowes, afflictions, and teares of Iesus Christ, with the loue that he did beare vs, without comparison he shall finde his loue farre to excede and surmount his toymes, for that vpon the tree of the Crosse, his passion had an ende, but his loue and affection did neuer cease.

An extreme
excesse com-
mitted of Christ,

And certaynly Iesus Christ in all things vsed greate moderation, excepte in his loue, whiche he did beare vnto the vniuersall worlde, being so excessive, that it exceded the humanitie, appoaching very nere vnto the diuinitie. And therfore, if he had not bene God and man, as he was, it had bene impossible to haue loued with so great affection, and to haue bestowed so greate and maruelous things, for that whiche he loued.

Wolte certaynly Iesus vsed excesse and greate extremitie, to suffer so many thornes to pearce his sacred heade, & so many other passions and toymes to afflict his moste diuine bodye : whiche passions and toymes, did farre excede the afflictions which the Martyrs indured. Therfore we say, that greate was the excesse and extreme was the loue that Iesus Christ did beare vs : which he did manifest in the woorks of a most true and perfect louer.

Christe ceaseth not to commit excesse.

Moyse and Helie did not common with Iesus Christ, of gouernement of the family, neither of their synagoge, but of the

ignominious & shamefull death, which Iesus Christ should endure at Ierusalem, and how he should die for all men, and that he should be tormented with exceeding afflictions, which he should endure with an heart accompanied with extreme love. *Si diligitis me, mandata mea seruate.* which is to say, My deare disciples, it is not sufficient to say, that you loue me, if otherwise you be negligent to obserue my commaundements: for that you see, I am not satisfied to loue you well in woordes, but that I shew and performe the same in dedes. If we would profoundly regard these wordes of Iesus Christ, we should finde the loue of God not onely to consist in affection, but in effect.

Loue of effect
more than of
affection.

X

I would say that good woorkes be more precious vnto God than holy desires. For him that is feeble and sicke, it sufficeth that he loue, but he that is whole and sounde, ought to loue and worke: for Iesus Christ our God doeth accept the wante of power, but is displeased with want of will.

Wante of power,
but not
of will is accepted.

Diligite inimicos vestros, & benefacite ijs qui oderunt vos: As if he should say, Loue your enemies, and do good vnto them that persecute you. Iesus Christ giuing to vnderstand, that loue ought to be put in effect.

Like wise the scripture sayth, *Ignis in altari meo semper ardebit, & sacerdos nutriet illum mittens ligna:* Within the Temple that is dedicate, sayeth the Lord, and vpon the Altar which is consecrate vnto me, I will that it be alway furnished with fire, one of the Priestes hauing charge with wood to maintaine the same that it go not out. In such wise that God is not satisfied, that for his owne tyme, there should be fire of loue: but also there withall be commaundeth, that it be entertayned with the woodde of good woorkes. For as fire goeth out, if it be not maintayned with wood, so likewise loue groweth cold, which is not mixed with good woorkes: and as the fire without wood turneth to ashes, so doth loue without woorkes take an ende and finish.

Smile

He hath his
maintenance
by good woorkes.

The Philosopher will say, that, *habitus*, is ingendred of *actus*: and the Diuine will say, that the good loue is conserued by the meane of the good worke.

Speaking of the extreme loue that God did beare vs, Ie-
remie

remie sayeth, *In charitate perpetua dilexi te*: which is, I loue not as others, neither is my loue like the loue of others: for I loue mine with charitie, and do intreat e them with pitie.

The loue of man is such, that if they determine to loue any thing, it is moſte likely they loue the ſame, for the perfection thereof. As if he ſhoulde loue an Orient ſtone, it is for the propertie or beautie thereof: if he loue meate, it is for the taſt: If he loue golde, it is, for that it is precious: If he loue Muſicke, it is for that it gladdeth him: If he loue his wife, it is for hir bounty or beautie. In ſuch wiſe, that man aduanceth not to loue any thing, in which he hath not ſome opinion, that it ſhall like or pleaſe him. But ſar otherwiſe is the loue whiche God beareth vs. For we knowe not in ourſelues any cauſe, why God ſhould be in loue with vs, which is moſt euidēt, for that our eyes delight to behold nothing but vaine things, our eares to heare lyes & flatteries, our hands ready to rapine, our harts bent vpon couetiſe: In ſuche wiſe, that in our wretched and miſerable perſon, God findeth not any occaſion why he ſhould loue vs, but many wherefoze to hate vs. Notwithſtanding the bleſſed Jeſus, determined to remedie the ſinnes that he ſawe in vs, and the ingratitude that he founde in vs: it pleaſed him to ſuccour vs with his mercie, and to lend vs his bleſſed grace, by the meanes whereof we might bring forth the frutes of good works, wherof he himſelfe might be amorous, and our conſcience comforted.

When Saint Peter, that denied him, S. Paule, that purſued him, S. Mathew that as a Publican did exchange, the theefe that did ſteale, might not haue found the houſe of Jeſus Chriſt if he himſelfe firſt had not given his grace.

Oh loue neuer hearde of, oh louer not to be compared, the which againſt the beare of mundaine loue, both giue loue, and the occaſions of loue.

In charitate perpetua dilexi te, ſayde Jeſus Chriſt by the Prophete, that the loue wherewith Jeſus Chriſt doeth loue vs, is not ſayned, much leſſe tranſitorie, but perpetuall, & ſtable: whiche is moſte true, in as muche as by the meane of his

Weak cauſes to obayne the loue of God.

Nota

Agaynſt the beare of mundaine loue.

ohne grace, he is pleased with vs, befoze our good woꝝks can declare vs to be his friendes.

I diuine loue
not bled a-
mong men.

That with a perpetuall and perfect charitie thou louest mee, oh thou loue of my soule and redēmer of my lyfe, considering the loue which thou bearest vs is thine, and the profite therof is mine, pretending no other thing of thy loue which thou bearest to all creatures, but by demonstration to declare thy souerayne bountie, in placing vpon vs thy most great and ardent charitie.

I most soue-
raine & vne-
mouable loue,

With perpetuall charitie, O Loꝝde, thou dost loue vs, considering that greates daye of thy passion, wherein neyther the tormentes of thy body, eyther the despitefull malice of the people, might in no maner withdraue thy souerayne bountie, or darken thy most great charitie: but rather with innarrable sighes, and teares incomparable, didst praye for them that did crucifie thee, & didst pardon them that did offend thee.

And most certainly, with a perpetuall charitie did our good Loꝝde loue vs, since from the present houre wherein he finished his prayer, and rendred his spirite, incontinent was manifested the frute of his passion, and the efficacie of his prayer.

Non rogo pro his tantum, sed pro his qui credituri sunt in me. Iesus Christe speaking vnto his father the nyght befoze his passion, sayd, O my father, I pray not vnto thee onely for my Apostles and Disciples, but also I praye as well for all the saythfull whiche shall beleue in mee, and that shall loue thee. For euen as thou & I be one selfe thing in diuinitie, so they and I be one body mysticall by charitie.

O Redēmer of my lyfe, oh repayzer from all my distresses, what may I do that may please thee, wherewith may I recompence thy great goodnesse, toberwith I am indebted: if I be not sufficient to giue due thankses for the good things that hourely thou dost bestow vpon me, what abilitie may I finde to satisfie the great loue which thou bearest vnto my soule?

Surely the wordes that the Loꝝde Iesus Christ did speake in his prayer, be right woꝝthie to be noted, retayned, and

and to memorie to be commended, considering we were not yet bozne, neyther yet our greate Grandfathers. He prayed vnto his father with suche instance and great efficacy, for the health of all his Church; as much I saye, as for those, whiche were with him at supper: in such wise, that the good Lorde, as he should die for all, would pray for all: whereof we may inferre, that we ought fully to beleue, and to be out of doubt, that since onre redeemer had vs in remembrance before we came into the world, that he will not now forget vs, when by faith we enter into his seruice.

Christ extended an ardent loue vnto vs, before we had being.

I pray thee gentle Christian say vnto me, if Iesus Christ had not pitied our estate, what had become of vs: surely if the Church of God at this present do contayne, or is endued with any obedience, patience, charitie, humilitie, abstinence, or continence, all is to be imputed to the ardent loue that Iesus Christ did beare vs, by the prayer he made vnto his father on our behalfe, redeeming our disgrace with his precious blood, and by his prayer placing vs in fauour.

A great cause of hope.

To be in loue with such as be present and absent, to be in loue both with quicke and dead, it passeth; but to loue suche as liues yet to come, and be not yet bozne, certainly is a thing that was neuer heard of: the which our redeemer hath performed and brought to passe, and yet hateth the wicked liner, and loveth the good not yet bozne.

A loue neuer hard of.

In such manner is cuppled together, both life and deathe, loue and hatred, he that loveth, and the thing loved, that at last hath end at an houre, which is contrary vnto the loue whiche Iesus Christ doth beare vs: for his loue had beginning before the creation of the world, and yet shall not ende at the daye of iudgement. The conclusion of all that we haue sayd shall be: that the excesse or extremitie which was spoke of in y mount of Thabor, was of the extreme and excessive sorrowes, that Iesus Christ should endure, and of the most great and excessive loue that he did beare vs, and in time to come should be to vs here by grace, and after by glory. *Ad quam nos perducatur Iesus Christus. Amen.*

An euertlasting loue.

The taking and overthrow of Carthage, done by Scipio the great, with a singular example of continencie which he there expressed, written to the Byshop of Carthage.

Most honorable Lord, and Catholike Prelate, I haue receyued in this Citie of Toledo, in his Maiesties Chamber, the letter that you haue witten, and the Emrode which you haue sent me, the which surely is very faire and rich, but notwithstanding, in respect of the place and from whence it cometh, I rather hold and esteeme it more deare, & incontinually remembrance. And I vnderstande by your letter, youre estate, and how you behaue your selfe in your bishoprick, and that you are not as yet disposed to come to this Court, for that you are there in greater quietnesse, and haue leysure to serue God, whereof doubtlesse I do not a little enuie your felicitie: for this life at Court is no other thing than a languishing death, a certayne vnquiet life, without peace, and principally without money, and a certayne purchase of damage and offence to the body, and of Hell for the soule.

The manner
and frute of
life in the
Court of
Spayne.

If it pleased his Maiestie y^e I might retire vnto my house, I promise you by the fayth of a Christiā, I would not stay one houre at Court. For the Court is neyther good or conuenient for me, either I for y^e Court. But being confessor vnto his maiestie, and Annier vnto the Emperesse, I may not escape one day from the Court. Notwithstanding amongst all these discomforts, we receyue this benefite, whiche is, we vnderstand in this Courte all that is done, or in practise, through the world, which is a matter wherein man dothe much delight, & content his spirites, hauing no regarde to other things, that might tourne him to more profite.

The commodities of the
Court of
Spayne.

As touching you my Lorde: you possesse youre house with great quietnesse deliuered of all fantasy to come to the Court, as well for the reasons abovesayd, as also for that your people shal be indoctrined and maintayned in better behaviour, and your haule and buttry more thoroughly furnished.

A good rule
for a Byshop

Farther, you commaund me to write vnto you particularly, whē the Carthaginians entred into Spayne, & at what time Scipio the African did take Carthage, the chiefe Citie of youre Bishop.

Bishoprick: and that you haue layd a wager with the Lord sir Peter of *Andoloxa* gouernour of the same Citie, vpon the same matter, & being of contrary opinions, haue chosen me for iudge or arbitrator of your contentio. Certaynly these be things very farre from my profession: for being religious as you know, it shoulde serue much better to the purpose, to sit and vnderstand of the time that my religion was inuented, and in what countrey *S. Francis* was borne, than to vnderstande when the Carthaginians entred *Spayne*; & at what time *Romaynes* did sack & subuert Carthage. But since you haue chosen and established me for your iudge, & will & I shal say my opinio, & that which I know: I shal not faile to reeld & reder my endenow, without any remissio of *Gods* which you promised me.

But comming nowe to the purpose, you haue to vnderstand, during the warres betwixt *the Gaditains*, & the Turdetaynes, the Gaditains sent their embassadoers to the Carthaginians, to draw the to their party, & to haue succour from them: wherunto *the Carthaginians* consented, and at the instant sent Marhaball, a man very valiant, to go into *Spayne* to the succour of the Gaditains. This Marhaball vnder *the* colour of giuing aide vnto the Gaditains, brought himself in possession of a certayne part of *Andoloxia*, and reduced the same vnder the gouernment of the Carthaginians, following his secret commission, and the order which was giuen him in his eare: This was brought to passe in the yeare of the general Flood. *M.D.CCC.*

This was the first discent of *the Carthaginians* in *Spayne*. In the days when the *Romaynes* expelled their kings. But afterwards, the Carthaginians diuers times by diuers Captayns, did invade & had possession of many countries & cities of *Spayne*, which they held vnto *the* time that the *Romaynes* comming vnto *the* succour of the Saguntines, where *the Carthaginians* wer distressed, distressed & diuven away: both the armies being conducted by Hanniball & Scipio, the first being the leader and Captayn of *the* armies of Carthage, the other for *the* *Romains*. This Scipio was the intituled Scipio the great, & renowned with *the* surname, African, for *the* after he subdued *the* great Carthage, & did take the same by diuers assaults, This Citie as is knowen to your

Lord.

A matter without remission.

The Gaditains be those of Caliz.

A possession and a secret commission to be noted.

A description
of the situa-
tion of Car-
thage,

Lordship, it holdeth on the East part, a certaine hill with a ridge, compassed with the Sea, and on the other side wher this hill or ridge ioyneth vnto the Citie, there is a lake on that side of Bize.

A most vnfor-
tunate report
of a neighbo-
r,

The Carthaginians supposing they Citie to bee sufficiently strong vpon that side, gaue no order thereof either for watche or ward. As Scipio battred the Citie by Sea & land, he had aduertisemēt by certaine fishermen of Tarresko, which at other times had repaired and gone to Carthage, that the water of the lake did vse to fall at an houre. By whiche aduertisement Scipio caused the water to be sounded, and hauing found the greatest depth but to the girdle, & in most places but to the knees, he caused certayne chasen souldiers to enter the water, whych passing without impediment, did climbe the walles, & entred the Citie, obtayning thereby possession with small losse, hauing executed great slaughter of the people thereof, and Hanno the Captayne of the Citie being taken prisoner. And as the Romans did prosecute and perfozmed the destruction of the Citie, forcing to passe by the edge of the sword al that ever they met, a Damsel of Spayne of a noble house, & wife of Madonius, brother to Indibilis, Lord of the Illergets, did yelde hir selfe prostrate and groueling at the fete of Scipio, most humbly beseeching, that it might please him to bouchsafe to recommende the honoꝝ of the women vnto the souldiers. And as Scipio answered, that he woulde gladly perfozme the same, this Lady replied saying after this manner:

A double fate
of a vertuous
Lady,

O Scipio, I am charged with one particular and right sorrowfull griere, whiche pearceth my heart in this present sorrowfull tune to sollicite thy excellēcie to vse thy mild fauour with great diligence: for I haue here my two nices (shewing two most excellent right singular yong Ladies) daughters of Indibilis, which hold and esteeme me as their onely mother, who teare mine entrayles and beake and pearce my hart, to see them in seruitude amidst the armies.

Wherof Scipio being moued by great compassion, and no lesse reuerence, made answer vnto this Lady: Madame, you haue

haue to vnderstand, that notwithstanding the common courtesie of the Romaine people, and my naturall condition doe prouoke me to defend the honoꝛ of Ladies: yet therewithall, your great vertue and dignitie constraynes me to vse moze speedy diligence therein: considering that in the midst of your aduersities you forget not the chiefe poynt of honoꝛ, which all Ladies of chaste renowe ought to maintaine, keepe & defend.

An answer of a noble & vertuous minde.

A chiefe poynt of Ladies of chaste renowe

The which being sayd, he commended these three Damselfes to the gard and defence of a gentleman of name and much esteemed for his vertue, straightly commaunding the same, to entreate and serue these Ladies, with no lesse courtesie, than if they were the wiues or daughters of gentlemen of Rome.

And now, since you haue bin aduertised of one vertuous acte of Scipio, I will yet recite another right famous deede, of great vertue, to shew vnto the worlde, that Scipio doth worthily deserue eternall prayse, to serue as an example and perfect spectacle of continencie to all yong Captaynes.

A spectacle for yong Captaynes.

The cause was thys: at the very instant that Scipio hadde dispatched these three Ladies aforesayd, his Souldiers brought vnto him a certayne yong Damselfe, the fairest that euer they had seene: but Scipio vnderstanding that she was betrothed to Lucius Prince of the Celtibires, and that she was descended of parents very noble, would in no wise touch hir, but rather had a double care to defend hir honoꝛ. And hauing commanded the father and the husband of the sayd Lady to be called vnto his presence, and also vnderstanding the sayd Prince to loue with an ardent desire, and an inflamed affectio: said thus vnto him: O Lucius, hauing thy lone in my power, and being yong as thou art, I might well enjoy the delight of hir beauty: but hauing aduertisement that thou bearest hir great and most perfect affection: I haue thought good not only to defende but also to preserve hir for this, and render the same into thy handes as chaste a virgin, as she was deliuered vnto me. And I wil no other recompence at thy handes, but that thou continue a faithful friend vnto the Romaines, for thou shalt not find a nation in this worlde of so perfect friendship as are the Romaine people.

Scipio of singular continencie.

ple, neither of so great merit for their worthy vertues.

Whereunto Lucius coulde say no other thing, but kissing the right hande of Scipio, besought the immortall Gods, to remunerate the great goodnesse and passing courtesie he had bestowed vnto him, confessing his great want of abilitie, for the recompence of so great a bountie.

And after returning vnto the parents of the sayd Damsell, rendering their daughter without any ransome: They most instantly besought him, that it might please him to accept the gold whiche they had brought for hir ransome, in token and as a pledge of their amitie and dutifull affection.

I rendred
ransome gi-
uen to the
marriage of
an enemy.

Scipio being pressed of them, did accept the same: and placing it at his feete, in the presence of them all, called Lucius and sayd: behold Lucius, I giue thee this gold which thy father and mother in law haue presented me, as a gift vnto the marriage of thy wife, besides that which before was appoynted thee. Take and refuse it not for my sake, and as a token for remembrance of sound friendship in time to come.

Then Lucius and his father and mother in lawe, receiuing the Damsell and the golde, did take their leaue of Scipio, and retired into their countrie, publishing in all places wher they past, most greatest praise of Scipio and the Romaine people.

I recompence
for courtesie
receiued.

Very shortly after Lucius came to seeke Scipio with foure teene hundred horse, to attend and assist the Romaines. After which time Scipio departed from Carthage to Tarzaone, to giue order for the warres, in effect to chase and expulse the Carthaginians out of Spayne.

My Lord beholde here my opinion as touching your demand: and if your honor, or the gouernor be not of the same opinion, which is, that if Marhaball were not the first Carthaginian that entred Spayne: and that the great Scipio the African, did not take, sack, and subuert new Carthage: I will say no more, but that if Titus Liuius were alive, he would giue you such a combat with the Camp of his Decades, that he would thoroughly giue you to vnderstand of your wrong information.

Of newes there is no other, but y his Maestie is in health,
and

and twice a weeke goeth to þe assembly. The Emperesse also is in health, and this hote weather feedeth very little. Thys other night from *Ciuita* they broughte a paquet of letters vnto his maiestie: wherein he was aduertised of ten shippes from *Pern*, to be arriued in þe haueu of *Ciuita* with twenty Millions of gold, whereof there were eight for his maiestic, and twelue for other particular persons. Diego of *Acunia* the bearer heres of, shall farther make report of all that passeth here at Court. No more but God haue you in his keeping and giue me grace to serue him. From Toledo the 22. of July. 1537.

Newes.

A disputatiō and discourse holdē against the Iewes of Rome, wherein is declared notable authorities of the sacred Scripture.

A *Liana* *Horranda*, which is to say, honozable troupe of *Inis*, I remayne with the long disputation past, so weery, and my head so distempred with your cries, that if it were not for the seruice of my Lorde Iesus Chryste, and for the zeale of youre soules, the pzoession of a demine, as also for the honoz of my law which I confesse & soundly beleue: you shoulde be assured that I would neither dispute with you any more, or enter at any time into your *Sinagogue*, for that as touching your conuersion ye are too much obstinate, and in the maner of disputation extremely opiniatiue. Neyther vnto you eyther yet vnto me doth it apertayne, that the difficulties or opinions which eyther of vs defendeth, shuld be veresied with offensive armes, much lesse with iniurious words: assuring, that at the Scholes where I haue studied, and of the masters of whome I haue learned, he was not esteemed wise, that cried strongly, but could perfozme and speake very well.

To be obstinate and opiniatiue expresth contrary to the troth.

*

And since we debate not vpon any matter of your goodes, much lesse is my comming for the same or any suche purpose, but only for the verifying of the sacred Scripture. I pray you for the loue of God, interrupt not my reasons, but heare me with patience untill I haue finished my tale: for al you of this *Sinagogue* hold for custome, þe if any word be spokē againste your tast or liking, forthwith ye begin to garboile, cry & bable.

Therfore

heare me, and I will heare you: speake, or else I will speake: give eare unto me, or else I will bearken unto you: suffer me, and I shall endure and suffer you: since we talke, confer and dispute of matters so high and deuine, it is good reason that such difficulties, and so great mysteries should be disputed after the manner of wise men, and not crying as foles: considering that the wisdomme of the wise is knowne by his talke, and his prudence in the modestie which he vseth in his speech.

The wise is
knowne by
the manner, &
modestie of
his talke.

I haue sayd all this, for that in the disputation which wee haue had betwixt vs, eight days past, ye did not only impugne and speake against both the authorities which I alleadged of the holy Prophet Esay, and of King Dauid, but also toyning your smiles to my eyes, ye charged me with the lie, iniuriously and threating.

The Inis
dispute with
their smiles.

If ye should say, that I am a great sinner, a vasterd, dull, and simple, I confesse the same.

But to saye that is false whiche I alleadged, or erroneous whiche I defended, I vtterly appeale and denie: for my good Lord Iesus Christ of his mercy either coulde or woulde sayle me therein. But comming to the purpose, me thinketh to commit no iniurie, to bring forth and alleage the passages of the holy Bible, and therewithall, of the holy Prophet Dauid, and a king amongst you best beloued, and of Esay the Prophet, of you most esteemed. The whiche haue sayde and prophesied, of the ignorance which ye should haue, from the which I beseech God to bzaue you and with his grace to enspire you: for certainly I haue compassion to consider youre greates infamie, hauing in times past about all nations receyued most fauour of God.

Psalme. 63.

King Dauid
did prophesie
the erroris
and false in-
terpretation
of the Inis.

Scrutati sunt iniquitates, defecerunt scrutantes scrutiny. The royal Prophet Dauid sayd, speaking of the doctors of your lawe, as if he would say, the ministers of the lawe be set, to interpret and declare the sacred scripture, from the which, they haue not bzauen but falshood and malice.

But now honorable Inis, I pray you to say, of whome doth your Prophete here speake: And tell me what they be, that dare

bare falsifye the sacred scripture? to the ende we may vnderstand to shun them, or else as Heretiques to burne them. For as the diuine Plato sayde, he ought to be accused of high treason, that falsely doth interpret the law.

If ye will saye, that the Gentiles, *Scrutati sunt iniquitates*, which is to say, That they haue euill interpreted the law, I answer, that you speake vniustly and raise a falsse testimonie against them: for the princes of the heathen haue more glozied and giuen themselves vnto the warres than to the interpretation of booke.

If ye will say, that those whiche presently be called Moyses or Turkes, be the same people, whereof the Prophet speaketh: *Scrutati sunt iniquitates*, herevnto I answer, that as false is the one, as the other: for as muche as if we will haue regarde vnto the time of the raigne of King Dauid, which did prophesie the same: vntill the time of Mahomet the first inuentor and conductor of the sect of the Moyses, we shall find, that there dyd passe, lesse than 2000. and more than 1800. yeares.

If we would say and affirme that the Prophet did meane, and direct his speech vnto the Christians, I saye also it is most false, and repugnant vnto all troth, for being admitted, that the Christian faith had beginning to raigne 600. yeares, before the sect of the Moyses, and more than 3000. yeares after the beginning of the Gentilitie or the Heathen from the tyme that this prophecie was witten at Ierusalem, vnto y time they began to name themselves Christians at Antioch, there passed more than a thousand yeares, and also three hundred yeares more for aduantage.

Behold here truly verifed, that since the prophecie may not be aduouched vpon the Gentiles, the Moyses, neyther yet the Christians, that it is to be vnderstood, & spoken vnto you Iewes, more expressely, for y the Prophet saith not *Scruteront*, but *Scruterent*, giuing vs to vnderstande, that many yeares before King Dauid did pronounce the same, youre anncesters had then already begon to corrupt the sacred Scriptures, and

The Gentiles be excused of false interpretation of the scripture.

The Turkes, Moyses, and Saracins, were not accused by the prophesy of King Dauid, to be false interpreters. The Christians be defended of false interpretation of the Scriptures.

I manifestt prooffe that the Prophet only chargeth the Iewes of false interpretation.

to adde vnto the same erroneous glosses.

Jeremy. 31.

I comfort vn
to Christians

I lie not, neyther do I repent to haue sayd, that your an-
cient fathers, *Scrutati sunt iniquitates*, since they haue no grace
to vnderstand the Prophecie of Ieremie which sayth, *post dies
multos (dicit dominus) dabo meam legem in visceribus illorum, & in
corde eorū ad scribā legem meam* As if he wold haue sayd: After ma-
ny dayes, and after many yeares, I will create a newe people, and
will giue them a newe lawe, whiche I my selfe will wright in theyr
bowells, and hide within their hartes: to the ende that no persone
shall falsely the same, and muche lesse shall they be able to for-
get it.

Then as the Prophecie which sayth: *Scrutati sunt iniquita-
tes*. &c. is spoken onoly vnto you, and not to all men: in lyke
manner this Prophecie of Ieremy whiche sayth, *dabo legem in
visceribus illorum*, &c. is spoken vnto vs Christians, and not to
you Jewes.

The weale of
the Christian
in faith.

For as muche as our Catholike sayth consisteth more in
that which is rooted within our hartes, than in that whiche
is wrytten in booke: in such manner the weale of the Chri-
stian lieth not in that whiche he readeth, but in that which
he beleueth.

The maruels that Christe hathe done, and the doctrines
which he hath giuen vnto the world: It is necessary and well
done, to knowe and also to reade them: but it is muche more
founde and sure to beleue them: for the number is infinite
which he saued without reading, but not one persone without
well beleuing.

Many be sa-
ued without
reading, but
not one per son
without be-
leuing.

The Edicts and Proclamations, which they ordeyned, and
the lawes of Moses, Prometheus, Solon, Licurgus, and Numa
Pompilius, were all wrytten with their handes, and prserued
and kept safe in their originals within their liberties: but the
law of Iesus Christ, ought most certaynly to be wrytten within
our hartes: for that, in as much, that the Lord gaue vs no other
law, but the law of loue, he did like and thought it better, that
we shoulde search and finde the same within our hartes, than
within our booke.

Loue is the
law of Chri-
stians.

And

And not without great mystery, God sayd by the mouth of your Prophet, & the law which his sonne should giue vs, & he shuld first write it within the harts, before & Euangelist shuld reduce them by writing into booke: for after this manner, it might not be forgotten, neyther yet burned.

And so, if your auncient pdecessors, hadde obtayned the law of Moyses written in their harts, as they had them written in old parchment: they had not in times past worshipped the Idolls of Baal, Bell, Pegor, Alterot, Bahalim, and Belzebub: for whiche offence, you were caried captiue into strange countries, and salne into your enemies hands.

How it came to passe, that the Hebrew tong
was lost.



In like manner ye bled me with no small des-
pight, for that in disputing against you, I al-
leaged your Esay, where God the Father
speaking vnto his owne proper sonne, sayde
these wordes, *parum est mihi, ut suscitares tribus Ia-*
cob, & feces Israell: dedit te in lucem gentium ut sis

Chapter. 49.

salus mea vsque ad extremum terra. As if hee would haue sayd: it
is no great matter, that thou serue me, to suscite and raise vp the
lies of Iacob, and to conuert the dregges of Israell: for I haue gi-
uen thee also for a light vnto the Gentiles: to the ende that thou
shalt be my saving health vnto the ende of the worlde.

There is no man, hauing read although but little in the
holy Scripture, that will not saye and affirme, that the Pro-
phet Esay was not an Hebrew borne, a Prophet of a noble
line, and right eloquent in the scriptures: for which cause, you
ought rather to blame and complayne of him, which doth call
and tearme you lies and dregges of Iacob, than of me, the
which in all our disputations, haue not at any time alleaged
any Christian doctor, but only Hebrew with Prophets.

I report as
true, as mis-
erable.

I saye agayne, that you haue small reason to be offended with him or me: for there is another Prophet which both call you off scowling, another benim, another lies, another dregs, another ordure, another slime, another smoke, another filth, in such wise, that as oft as ye did not cease to sin, so did they not cease to blason, and to expresse you with most perfect tearmes.

In heauy de-
ceit.

Are ye able to denie, that of your priesthood, of your Scepter, of your Temple, of your Realme, of your lawe, of your tongue, either of your scripture, is there any remayning but the lies which smelleth, and the dregs which stinketh?

Surely, that which was in your lawe, cleare, nete, precious, and odoriferous, long before the incarnation, was consumed: and that little which remayned, in Iesus Christ did take an end. And as concerning the priesthood of your law, the great sacrificer, or the high Priest, ought he not to be extract out of the Tribe of Leuy, whereof you haue nothing left but the lies: for yet in the time of yonger and better dayes, it was no more given unto the Levites that did best deserue it, but unto him that offered most aluer: in such wise that to him that offered most, and had greatest skill to flatter, the priesthood was given: as when a garment is sold by the drumme.

Nothing left
but lies.

Like wise of your Scepter royal, what haue you but lyes: for Herod Eskalonire a stranger, did not onely vsurpe your Realme, but by industry caused the Prince Antigonus, sonne to Alexander your King, to be drowned: the small end of your Realme of Iudea, and of the Crowne of Israel.

Nothing left
but dregs.

What shall we say of your most auncient Temple, so magnificent in buildings, and so holy in the action of sacrifice: surely ye haue no other thing but the lies.

For ye well know, that forty yeares and no more. After ye crucified the Lorde Iesus Christe, the Emperours Titus and Vaspasian the father and sonne, did sack, destroy, and burne the same.

Nothing but
lies.

Of the Monarchie of your kingdome muche lesse haue you
not of anything, than the lies, for that, from the time, & great
Pompey passed into *Asia*, and subdued *Palestine*, he neuer after
committed sayth to any *Iewe*: I say to giue him any speciall
charge of governmēt in the Citie, or defence of any fortreſſe,
but perpetually did shew your selues subiect to the *Romaynes*,
not as *Massals*, but rather as *slaves*.

Nothing but
dregges.

If we should speake of your auncient language, & of the old
correcters of your wrightings, we should likewise finde, that
you haue not any thing left but lies: and for prooue thereof,
first I pray you tell me, whiche is he amongst you, that kno-
weth the language of your ancestors, either can reade, or else
vnderstand, any of the auncient *Hebrewish* booke?

Nothing but
lyes.

But naue to bring you to the knowledge thereof, I shall
deduce, notwithstanding it doth not like you, directly and suc-
cessiuelly, the beginning of your *Hebrewish* tong, and how by
little and little it was lost agayne. Wherein you haue to vn-
derstand, that the Patriarche *Noe*, with his children and *Pe-*
phewes, escaping the *floud*, went and did settle in the coun-
trei of *Caldea*: the situation whereof, is vnder the fourth *Cl-*
imate, the *Regiō* after the *floud* first inhabited and populat,
from whence he issued the *Egiptians*, *Sarmits*, *Greekes*, *Latines*,
and all other Nations. In the same *Region*, I meane beyond
the riuer *Euphrates*, and neare vnto *Mesopotamie*: the Patriarch
Abraham was bozne and nourished, the whiche being called of
God, came to dwell in the countreis of *Canaan*, afterwardeſ na-
med *Siria* the lesse: the countrey where the good old *Abraham*
and his generation did most inhabit.

The begin-
ning and en-
ding of the
Hebrew tong
described.

In those days in that countrey of *Canaan* they had in vse to
speake another language named *Sirien*, very differēt from the
Calde tong: But as *Abraham* and hys posteritie dwelling in
that countrey many yeares, these two languages by proceſſe
of time, grewe to be corrupted, *Abraham* hys family and suc-
cessors, being not able to learne the *Sirien* speeche, neyther
the *Siriens* the *Calde* tong: of these two languages there re-
mained in vse one, which was named the *Hebrew*.

Ec. iij.

Also

Also you haue to vnderstand, that this name Hebrew, is as much to say, as a man that is a stranger, or come from beyond the Riuer: and for that Abraham was come from the other side of the Riuer *Euphrates*, he was generally called Hebrew, in such wise, that of this name Hebrew, by the which Abraham was called, the speche, tong, and language, was also named Hebraique, and not Caldean, notwithstanding that hee was of *Caldea*.

Many Doctors, Greekes and Latins, thus saye, that the Hebrew tong both come from Heber, the sonne of Sale: and that it was the language, which was in vse and spoken befoze the generall Flood: notwithstanding, *Rabiahazer*, *Mosannahadach*, *Aphesura*, *Zimibi*, and *Sadoc*, your most ancient and famous Hebrew doctors, do sweare and affirme, that the first speche and language in this worlde, was lost in the confusion, or to say better, the confusion of the towne of *Babylon*, without perfection remayning in any one word of their language.

And then, since the language of *Noe* was lost, the Caldean converted into the *Sirien*, and the *Sirien* into the Hebrew, it came to passe, that *Iacob* with his twelue sonnes, went to dwel in *Egypt*, where they did soiazne so long Captiues, that very neare they forgate the Hebrew tong, neyther aptly coulde learne the *Egyptian* language, remayning in their spech and pronounciation corrupted.

And as after the destruction of the second Temple, as also the totall and finall losse and destruction of the holy lande: That your brethren were disperfed throughout the worlde, & for the most part Captiues, and that in you ther remayned nothing but the ties of *Iacob*, the things desolate of *Israell*, God did permitte that they shoulde ioyntly take ende, both the forme of your life, and the manner of your spech.

The Iewes
lost both the
forme of
their life, and
the maner of
their speche.

Behold here honorable Iewes, sufficiently proued by your olde doctors, that of your countrey, language, renowne, glory, and the whole state of your *Sinagoge*, ye haue nothing left but the lies, as the Prophet sayth, and the vregs and grounds of the tubbe.

In such manner, that ye haue neither Lawe to obserue, & marvelous
 King to obey, Scepter to esteeme, priesthood to acquaintance desolation,
 youre honor, Temple to pray in, Citie to inhabit, neyther
 language to speake.

And for that the scope and prase of your obstination, and sure healtie and saluation, both lye and consist in the veritie of the Scripture whiche we haue receyued, and the saluande and coꝛruption of the which you confesse it shall be expedient to recite, how, where, and when, youre Scriptures were coꝛrupted and lost, euen as I haue produced and broughte forth the losse of your language.

We haue therefore to vnderstande, that the fyve booke of the lawe, the which your greate Duke Moyses did write, after he came forth of the Land of *Egypt*, and before he entred the lande of promise; and those whiche were written by the Prophet Samuell and Esdras, were all written in the Hebrew tong without any addition of the Egyptian language, for your Moyses (being inspired by God in all the things hee did take in hand) did wright these booke in the most auncient Hebrew tong, which is to vnderstande, in the very same that Abraham did speake at his coming out of *Calde*: God giuing you thereby to vnderstand, that you should haue folowed your father Abraham, not onely in the forme of your life, but also in your spech.

During the time that Moyſes, Aaron, Iſue, Ezechiell, Caleph, Gedeon, and all the fourteene Dukes, did governe your *Alia-* *Alia* *ma*, untill the deceaſe of the excellent King Dauid, the lawe of Moyſes was alway well underſtood, and indifferently wel obſerved.

But after the decease of these good personages, and the kingdome and government being come into the hands of the successors of David, the Synagoge was neuer more well gouerned, neyther the Scriptures well vnderstande: I woulde saye notwell vnderstande generally of the twelue Tribes.

There were notwithstanding, alwayes some parti-
cular persones of the house of *Israell*, the whiche were a-
Cc.iiiij. gréable

greable and also acceptable unto God, and to the common wealth very profitable.

**I prohibitio
amongst the
Jewes to
reade the
scriptures.**

That your law was not from thenceforth wel understood, is most evident: for it was prohibited and defended in your A liana, that neyther the visions of Ezechiel, the first Chapter of Esay, the booke of the Canticles of Salomon, the booke of Job, neyther the lamentations of Jeremy, should be read, or commented by any person: whiche was done, not bycause the bookes were not holy and approued, but rather bycause ye could not vnderstand them.

**The Jewes
doctors allea=
ged.**

Muche lesse may you denie me, that your Rabby Salmon, Rabby Salomon, Rabby Fatuell, Rabby Aldugac, and Rabby Baruch, do not saye and affirme by their writings, that after your second deliuerance from the Captiuitie of Babylon, ye neuer more vnderstode, to performe the Ceremonies of your temple, speake the Hebrew tong, either vnderstande the holy Scripture, much lesse to sing the Canticles of Dauid.

**I most wis=
hed exchange.**

And no lesse may you denie, that of all sortes of your Jewish people in the dayes of the great Priest Mathathias, did repaire vnto the Court of king Antiochus, to sell the Realme, and to learne his law: and that which is more vile, ye consented that all the bookes of Moyse, should be publikely be burnt, and likewise permitted scholes in the Citie of Ierusalem, to reade the lawes of the Gentiles, placing also an Idol in the holy temple, vnto whome was offered incense, and other odours, as if it had bin the true God: the which most certainly I woulde not haue spoken, if I had not found it written in the booke of Ieremias.

And then our Lorde God, seeing the wine of the lawe in a manner consumed, and that there remayned nothing but lies and dregs, and the time appoaching that the Gentiles should be called and conuerted, and that in them the Church should begin: he did permit and ordayne that all the holy scriptures should be translated into the graeke tong, forseeing that the Hebrew tong should be lost.

And how so famous a translation and interpretation came

as touching their law, hauing also in the same charge to iudge all differences betwixt the people. They had likewise the charge to commaunde, and to make ordinances as touching the gouernement of the Common wealth, euen to the assignement & direction, what euery one should haue in his house.

These were the men, that did ordeyne and commande, that befoze the Hebrewes should sitte at table, they shoulde wash their handes: the transgression of whiche Ceremonie the Jewes did accuse the Apostles, but as well defended by Jesus Christ.

The apostles accused by the Jewes, and defended by Christ.

For surely, if these auncientes had not deale farther than with the gouernement of their common wealth, and iudging their causes, it had bene not withstanding a thing tolerable. But by their auaritie they thrust in themselves, to close the Bible, and garboyle the scripture. Wherof the principal that thereto did first giue attempt, was Rabby Salmon; Rabby Enoch, Limoda, Rabby Adam, Rabby Elechana, and Rabby Ioiade, whose glosses ye haue as much praysed and esteemed, as if God himselfe had ordeyned, and Moyse witten them. Wherof hath risen many errors in your Aliames, and many wrong and most vntruthes in the Scriptures, which you haue.

A cause of error in the scripture.

Cōgregation of Common wealthes.

Neither are ye able to dente vnto me, that by the meane of your false interpretations, and the erroneous vnderstandings that your predecessors haue committed and done vpon the Bible, there hath not risen in your Synagoge, those three cursed sectes, of the *Asses*, *Saduces*, and *Pharises*, the which heretiques caused in your common wealth great scandalles, and in your lawe greates doubtes.

The three cursed sectes, *Asses*, *Saduces*, and *Pharises*.

And to the ende you shall vnderstand, that I know all your secrets. It is not vnkowne vnto you, that 40. yeares befoze the incarnation of Jesus Christ, there was in Babylon a Jewe named Ionathan Abemiziell, so muche esteemed among you, and his doctrine so muche reuerenced, that your auctors haue sayde, that in him was renewed the sayth of Abraham, the patience of Iob, the zeale of Helie, and the spirite of Esay.

The auctor knoweth the secretes of the Jewes.

This Rabby Abemiziell, was the firste that translated the

Ec. vi.

Bible

Bible out of the Hebrew into the Caldean tongue, with such diligence and fidelitie, that hee was thought to be inspired of the holy Ghost in the doing thereof.

This god Iewe Abemiziel, is the same, the which, whereas the Psalmist sayeth, *Dixit Dominus Domino meo*: he sayde, *Dixit Dominus verbo meo*.

And in that Psalmie whiche sayeth, *Ego mortifico*: hee sayde, *Ego mortificor*. And where it is sayde, *Percutiam & ego sanabo*: he sayde, *Percutiar & ego sanabo*.

And where it is sayde, *Aduersus Dominum, & aduersus Christum eius*: he sayde, *Aduersus Dominum, & aduersus Messiam eius*.

And where Salomon sayeth: *Viam viri in adolescentia*, he sayd, *Viam viri in adolescentula*. In such manner, that in his wordes he seemed rather to prophesse than to translate.

The translation of this Iewe Abemiziel, is the same, which at this present we call the Caldean translation, and the which is moste in vse in the Orientall Churches, likewise is vsed of the Armenians, the Caldees, the Egyptians, and of many Greekes.

The Jewes
began to con-
uert Christi-
ans.

But the doctors of your law, perceyuing that many Jewes did conuert Christians, and that also consofurable vnto his translation they gathered, that Christe was the true Messias. The whiche when they perceyued, they did assemble in the Citie of Babylon, in the fourthe yeare of the reygne of the Emperour Traian: where in it was ordeyned, and commaunded ment giuen, vnder great penalties, that any of that translation should neuer moze be vsed, but in all places whersoener it should be founde, without remission to be burned.

The Jewes
condemne and
bury & transla-
tion of Abe-
miziel, doub-
ting the con-
uersion of the
Jewes to
Christ.

The translation of Abemiziel being condemned by the common consent of the Jewes, it came to passe in the first yeare of the sayde Emperour Traian, a certayne greate and famous heathen Priest, borne in the Isle of Pont, named Aquile, did conuert himselfe to the lawe of Moyses, the which conuersion hee did not perforce of conscience to saue his soule, but to obtaine in mariage an excellent sayde Jewishe woman, with whom he was farre inflamed.

And

And for that this Aquile, was a man very skilfull in the Græke and Hebræwe tongues, he founde no better opportunitie moze aptly to shewe his spirite, than to take in hande the translation of all the holy Scripture, out of Hebræwe into Græke.

This same was the first translation that was perfozmed after the incarnation of Iesus Christe, in the yeare. 104. after his natiuitie. The whiche translation among you Iewes, was in small estimation, because it was done by suche a one as in tymes past had bene a Heathen or Gentile, and of the Christians much lesse esteemed, for that it was brought to passe by him that was conuerted a Iewe.

The first translation after the incarnation of Christ.

Fiftie two yeares after the death of the sayde Aquile, it is to be understode, in the eyght yeare of the euill Emperour Commodus: There was another Græke translation perfozmed by a Iewe named Theodosius, the whiche after became a Christian: which remoued and made perfect all the errors of Aquile.

The seconde translation.

Thirtie seven yeares after the death of Theodosius, which is to be understode, in the nynt yeare of the Empire of Severus: there was another translation perfozmed out of the Hebræwe into Græke, by a man learned and vertuous, named Simachus, the whiche was approued, well allowed, and resealed throughout all the East: notwithstanding that, not long after it was reproued and reiected.

The thirde translation.

In those tymes, there raygned in the greatest partes of Asia, the Heresie of Ebionites, whereof Saint Iohn in the Apocalips maketh repozte: notwithstanding that Theodosius and Simachus had bene faithfull in their translations, and of troth and veritable in their wordes: our Church would at no tyme receyue their scriptures, hauing no confidence in the credence of their persons.

Fourtene yeares after the death of Simachus, whiche was the fifth yeare of the Empire of Heliogabalus, it came to passe, that a certayne Patriarcke of Ierusalem, beeing named

named Ioannes Budeus, founde in a caue at *Iericho*, saythfully written and catholically translated out of Greke into Latine, all the olde and new Testament.

The fourth translation allowed in the Christian Church.

This is the translation the whiche at this present the Latine Church doth vse, this is that which we call *Quinta editio*: and of others is named the Translation *Hiericontini*, which is to saye, that which was founde in *Hiericho*: the auctor whereof was neuer knowne.

Fifth translation by Origen after Christ.

In the eyght yeare of Alexander Severus, the sonne of Mamae, which was about ten yeares after the translation *Hiericontine* was found, a Doctoz of ours named Origene, did correct the translation of the. 70. Interpreters, which is to vnderstand, in adding where they had bin byiefe, declaring the darke mysteries, placing a little starre, as a marke, wher he had made declaration of any matter, and where he did remoue or take away, he added the marke of a little arrowe.

All these fyve translations aboue mentioned, whiche is to say, of the. 70. Interpreters, of Aquile, of Simachus, of Theodosius, of *Iericho*, & that of Origene, our auncients did vse for some, of them all to make one booke, writing in euery lease, by six diuisions, and this booke was named, *Hexapla*, *ab ex, quod est ex Latine, quasi sex translationes in se continens*.

Four hundredeth yeares after this, a certaine Doctoz of ours named S. Ierome, most certainly a man very holy, and in his tyme and of his temple most learned, and greatest vnderstanding in the sacred Scriptures and humaine letters, and no lesse expert in the Greke, Hebrewe, and Caldee tongue. This man did in like maner correct the translation of the. 70. Interpreters, & made also another by it selfe out of Greke into Latine, as well of the olde as of the new Testament. The greatest part wherof, is now in vse in our Catholike Church, and is the same that we most esteeme.

In like maner I will that you vnderstande, that in the 314. yere after the natiuitie of our saviour Iesus Christ, there was rayled among you a certayne Jewe of *Idumea*, named Maier, a man very subtile, and in the arte of *Pygromancie*.

no lesse skillfull, which obtayned suche credite and reputation among you, that he made you fully beleue, that God had gyuen two lawes vnto Moyſes in the mount of *Sinay*: the one in wytyting, and the other in worde: and sayde, that God had done the same, knowing that in time the wytten lawe shoulde bee losse, and that lawe shoulde raygne whiche was gyuen by worde.

One of the
greatest
causes of
the false be-
leeve of the
Jewes.

This cursed Jew Maier, further sayde, that God had reuealed this lawe vnto Moyſes only and alone, and Moyſes did reueale the same to Iosue, and Iosue to his successors, and so from hand to hande it was reuealed vnto him, and that vnto him onely God had commaunded to put the same in wytyting, and to manifest the same to his Jewiſh people. Inſomuch that the lawe of Moyſes beganne to bee abolished, and the people and their lawe to be losse.

A cruell sug-
gestion of the
Diuell.

This lawe whiche your Jewe Maier had inuented, in the Hebrew speache was named *Misna*, which is to saye, the Secrete lawe. This sayde lawe was glosed afterwards by many of your doctours, namely by Rabby Manoa, Rabby Andasy, Rabby Butaora, and Rabby Samuel: the whiche in like manner with him did wyte many wretched and cursed things, and no small lyes, in pzeiudice of the lawe that Iesus Chyſte had preached vnto you, and the lawe which Moyſes had given you.

This lawe is the same whiche your Rabbys haue otherwise named the booke of the *Talmud*, wherein your doctours do say, that when God vpon the Mount of *Sinay*, did gyue the law vnto Moyſes, that then were pzeſent the ſoules of David, of Eſay, of Ieremie, of Ezechiel, and of Daniel, and of all the other Prophetes. And likewise they saye, that there was pzeſent all the ſoules of theyr Rabbys of the Synagogue, whiche shoulde declare bothe the lawes of Moyſes, and also sayde, that shortly after God would anew create their bodies, to infuse these ſoules.

Vanities af-
firmed by the
Jewiſhe do-
ctours.

But it is right well known vnto you, that according to the Propheties, and the lawes of Moyſes, the true Meſſias, whiche was Iesus Chyſte, was then come, and that all
your

your Jewish Common wealth is now finished: for in which cause ye haue preferred this lawe named *Misna*, and his glose, named *Talmud*, by the meane of which law and glose, ye bold abused all the common people, and yelde destruction to your Jewishe estate.

This prophesie of David verified vpon the Jewes.

This prophesie of Esay verified vpon the Ch.istians.

Concluding, I say, that very well, to good, right, and direct purpose, I haue alleadged agaynste you that texte of David, which he sayeth, *Scrutati sunt iniquitates*: And the other of Esay, which he sayeth, *Parum est mihi vt suscites feces*. In so muche, as you haue falsified the Scriptures, & inuited other new lawes.

Wherefore, in respect thereof, I haue done you neyther wrong nor iniurie, considering also that at this present ye do more defende the lawe of Maier, than the lawe of Moyse. And for that I haue dilated this discourse, more than I thought to haue done, the reste shall remayne to be verified in some other disputation.

An excellent disputation, which the Auctor held against the Iewes of *Naples*, wherein is declared the hyghe mysteries of of the Trinitie.



Unknowable Kabbyses, and stiffnecked Iewes, in the laste disputation holden betwixte vs on Saturday last, ye would haue pluckt out myne eyes, and also haue beaten mee: because I alledged the these words of Iesus Christ, which say: *Ego principium qui & loquor vobis*. Answering ye sayde, that neyther Iesus Christ vnderstode what he sayde, eyther I muche lesse what I defended: scornfully mocking ye affirmed that I was but simple: the which in deede may be very true. But to note my Lord Iesus Christ of falsehood, most certaynly of your parte it proceedeth of your tole great wretchednesse, and most exceeding and extreme wickednesse: being vtterly repugnant vnto his bountie to deceiue, and to his diuinitie to lye. Were it in you, or had ye the grace to beleene, as I, and all others do, and ought to beleene, that his humanitie & word is vnited, ye would in like maner beleene

believe & confesse that it were impossible, that the blessed Jesus might erre, in that which he commaunded, eyther exercise his life as sinner, eyther his speache as lyer.

But sozasmuche as ye remayne obstinate in your lawes of Moyles, ye deserue not to vnderstande so high mysteries. The law of Moyles I do not deny, but your Cabal I can in no wise credit, but utterly desie, & firmly beleue the Gospell of Jesus Christ. And also most saythfully am fully persuaded, that whē Christ in his humanitie did take beginning, your ceremoniall law did then take ending. And from the present houre that y^e Lord Jesus Christ sayd vpo the crosse, *Consummatū est*, he gaue vs to vnderstande, that then was finished the holocaustes, sacrifices, oblations, figures, ceremonies, and also your royall scepter had then taken ende, and pontificall dignitie declined and in short time after utterly consumed, and in the same moment our church began to spring, & your synagoge to be buried.

There is now moze than .1500. yeres past, that ye haue had neither king to obey, sacrificiing priest to commaund, temple to pray in, sacrifice to offer, prophets in whome to giue credite, either as muche as a citie wherein to be succoured or repaire vnto: in suche wise, that to all men it is manifestly sene, that your sorrowfull synagoge is dead, and ended without all hope for euermoze to rylse agayne.

Jesus Christ sayde, that your kingdome should be remoued and taken away, that your temple should be subuerted and overthowen, that ye shold be disperfed throughout the world, y^e Ierusalem should be destroyed, & that your law should be lost. In like maner Jesus Christ sayd, that ye should dye obstinate in your sinnes, and so continue wandering as bacabunds untill the ende of the world.

Notwithstanding that ye remained in bondage, seruitude, & slavery, in those two greate captiuities of *Egipt* & *Babylon*, yet there remained with you some remanēt of priesthood, of prophet, of king, or of law. But after y^e coming of Jesus Christ, all was lost, al was finished, & al was vanished away, nothing remaining vnto you, but the name of Jewes, & the liberty of slaves.

There

There is not any nation in this worlde, be it neuer so barbarous, that hath not some place to retire vnto, or some captaine to defend them, the *Garaments of Asia*, the *Messagetes* bordering vpon the *Indians*, and the *Negros of Aethiops*, bearing witnesse, except you most miserable *Iewes*, the which in all places and countries be fugitiues and captiues.

Certaynely, mosse obstinate and stiffe necked people, I do not maruell that I haue so little profited, and done so little good amongst you in these fyue monethes, in arguing, preaching, and disputing: in so much that *Iesus Christ* with his excellent doctrine and maruelous miracles, could do no more in .30. yeares, hauing no grace to accept the same in better part, than to crucifie him for his greate bountie.

When sithe is the principall cause of your losse both consist, in that ye beleue not the newe Testament, neyther vnderstand the olde, which is most true. For, if soundly and intierly ye had vnderstanding of the sacred scripture, with your owne handes ye would set fire vnto the synagogue.

And for that you haue all in generall, and euery one in particular, desired mee, to say and gyue you to vnderstande, what, or howe the Christians do conceyue, and what our doctors and learned men do teache, as touching the right hygge mysterie of the Trinitie.

I pray you also honozable Rabbies, to be intentiue to that which I shall propose, and to haue regard to that which I shal determine, for that the mysteries of the Trinitie, be of suche depth and profunditie, that they ought to be beleued with the vnderstanding, although reason may not shewe and comprehend them. Forasmuch as all you Rabbies & Iewes, whiche be present, do well vnderstand the Latine and the Spanishe tongue, and I vnderstand your Hebrew & the Italian songs, I will endeuoie and vndertake to declare the best that I can, this mysterie of the Trinitie, partly in Latine, and partly in Hebrew, & partly in Spanishe: for the matter is so high, that one language is not sufficient to declare the same.

The

scilicet singularitatis, incommutabilitatis: et dignitatis. By this I vnderstande, that for one personne, to bee a Diuine personne, it is requisite, that he shoulde haue three thinges, whiche is to vnderstande, that it haue in it some singularitie: whiche is not founde in any other, *Incommutabilite*, whiche vnto it and to no other, is communicated: And some dignitie, which in it, and not in any other is to bee founde. The personne of Iesus Christ our God, by all these reasons here aboue sayde, is a person Diuine, notwithstanding, it bee cladde with humayne fleshe. As touching the fyrst, which is to haue some priuiledge of singularitie, that hath bene founde, in the Soule of Iesus Christe, the which onely by speciall grace, from the howze it was create, it was vnitied with the Diuine woꝛde.

The seconde priuiledge of *Incommutabilite*, was founde in the Sacred bodye of Iesus Christe, the whiche in the Wombe of his glayous mother, lykewise, was by the holye Ghoste fourmed, *Et a verbo Assumptum*. The thyrde priuiledge, whiche is of dignitie, is lykewyse founde in the Soule and bodye of Iesus Christe, remayning in his humayne nature, and not, but one person: the whiche was and is Diuine.

You haue farther to vnderstande, honourable Rabbis, That there are twoo termes: the diffinition of which, is verry necessarie to bee knowne vnto them, That seeke to vnderstande any thing in the holye Scripture, whiche is to saye: Actes essentialles; and actes personalles. The example thereof is written in the fyrste Chapter of Genesis. *In principio Creauit deus Celum et terram, &c.* In this place here, this name *Deus*, *Accipitur essentialiter, Et non personaliter, quia creare est actus essentialis, et non personalis: et conuenit trinitati, in quantum deus.*

Psal. 2.

Psal. 30.

Psal. 39.

Psal. 40.

Also it is wittē, *Dominus dixit ad me filius meus es tu*: in which place, this name (*dominus*). *Accipitur personaliter, et nō essentialiter: qui de patris persona precise intelligitur: et in diuini generare est actus personalis, et non essentialis, et est notio ipsius patris.* Like wise ye haue to vnderstande, that as in Iesus Christ, is one person diuine, there is in y same diuine nature: humaine nature, & mystical nature. *Prima est eterna, Secunda est a verbo assumpta. Tertia est in Adam corrupta, qui licet nō sunt altera specie ab humanitate Christi, tamen est altera secundū conditionē nature sauciate.* In the scriptures Iesus Christ is introduced sometimes, speaking according to diuine & eternal nature, as when it is sayd: *Dominus dixit ad me filius meus es tu*: Sometimes speaking in the humaine nature, As when he sayth: *In capite libri scriptū est de me et illum: non est exaltatū cor meū. &c.* And sometimes is brought in speaking according to the nature mystical, & corrupted. So as, *Longe A salute mea verba delictorum meorum, et illud: Delicta labiorum meorum non sunt a te abscondita.* The which he sayd, as of the paine, not touching y faulte, so; as much as the body mystical byd perpetrate, & his true & verie body byd paye and suffer. Our amitie is so lytle. That our proper sinnes we discharge byd others: And in Iesus Christ, charitie is so great, That he taketh the sinnes of others, vpon him selfe: in such maner that he confesseth to haue many sinnes, so; as much, as he is the redēmer of many sinners. Behold honorable Rabbis, what it is that the Christiāns doe vnderstand, of his diuinitie, and that which we confesse of his humanitie. Vnto which saith I extēme to lye, and protest to dye. And so; that I haue sayd moze then I thought to haue done, yea and moze then ye would haue heard: we wyll remitte so; another disputacion, both your doubtēs, and my aunsweres: Considering that my Lordes the Prelates, And the noble men that be here, do staye to goe to dinner, and to withdawe them selues, &c.

A Letter to Syr Ferdinando of Cordoua, wherein is discoursed the
eleuen persecutions of the Church: when and by whom
they were persecuted.



Vergethful Syr and Christian Knight, Iohn de Cabrota
your Steward deliuered me a letter from your wor-
ship, which was as long as between Madrid & Almagro:
where at this present you do remaine: wherby if
you thinke to receiue no short answer: by writing so
long a Letter: you do much abuse your selfe, for wanting opportunity
& leasure to studie: I maie not imploye my selfe to write such long &
tedious Epistles: especiall ye, when he to whom they are written is
simply, but a friend: Yet true friends delight, not only in reading long
letters, but are grieued if their friends write not euery day: al which
aboue sayd, is not to say: that I esteeme not to place you in the chief-
festes rankes of my best friends. And if you imagine the contrarie,
you are much deceived: For your friendes & mine do wel know that
Don Ferdinando de Cordoua, and Friar Anthony de Gueuara Bi-
shop of Mondoneto be twen bodies ioynd in one will, linked in a
chaine of in dissoluble amitie. But omitting this discourse, & return-
ing to your letter: I assure you it pleased me very much, & chiefly
in that I perceiued your good dispositiō, which is no smal matter in
middelt of these perillous heates. Now touching the persecutions of
the myllitant Church: wherof you haue written, & wherof the Bzior
of Calatrana & you haue liberally discoursed: I aunswere, that there
haue bene many persecutions of the Church: done at sundry times
and by severall Princes. And for that I greatly desire to do you that
seruice which lyeth in my power, I haue not sayled to sende you the
sayde persecutions in order as followeth.

The first persecution was in the raigne of y^e Emperour Nero, the
whiche (possessed with y^e Deuil, in whose bonds his offices did im-
p^{er} him) perceiuing the nūber of Christians daily to increase at Rome
(by grace of y^e euangelical worde which Peter & Paul preached there,
where they were martyred for such conuerſion of y^e people) determi-
ned with his power to persecute & destroye the Church: wherby he
murdred many Christians, as wel in Rome as els where, which was
the first persecution of the Church. For albeit the Church since the
suffering of Christ hath ben continually persecuted in his particuler

members, yet notwithstanding vntill the coming of Nero, there went forth no commandment to persecute the Christians.

Touching the constancy of the Martyrs, and the diuersitie of the tormentes which they endured (beside the Catholique Historiographers which write thereof) Cornelius Tacitus a Roman writer, and enemie to the Christians (yet verie credible in his writing) both report the same: whis making recitall of the persecutions made by the ordinance of the Emperour Nero, (of whome Sueton maketh also mention) doth say of the slaughter of Christians, both men and women: that amongst a thousande diuersities of punishmentes and deathes, they cast the Christians to be tozned in peeces with dogges: And to make the dogges moze fierce vpon them, the men were bzaled in skinties of Beares, and other sauadge Beastes. Which persecution was perfozmed (as witnesseth Cornelius Tacitus and Suetonius) after the huge fire of Rome: In the eleventh yere of the Emppre of Nero: by whose decre the glorious Apostles Peter and Paul were martyred. It maye well be, as I also beleue, that this martydom continued lytle moze then thre yeres: For though it were done at that time (acording to the Order of Calatrana his opinion) yet God would preserve his Apostles, and deferre their martydoms vntill the tozelayde time.

The second persecution was in the time of the Emperour Domitian. This wicked and accursed monster, vnderstanding that there should one spring out of the lyne of David, which should expell him out of the Emppre, he caused search to be made with much diligence, for all those which descended from the race of David amongst the Iewes, and caused them to be put to death: onely raunsoning as Eusebius sayth two persons of the same familie, who further for the accomplishment of his deuillish deuices, at the motion of the flende he determined to persecute the Catholique Church: Whereby at his commandment a great slaughter was made of Christians within Rome and without. In which persecution multitudes of the Christians were at the first committed to banishment, who after were tormented, and then murdered by most horrible paines and cruell deathes, as affirmed Eusebius: Orosius and many other Christian Historiographers. This was the second general persecution of the primitive Church, in which S. Iohn the Euangelist was confined, or
exiled

eriled into the Ple of Pathmos where he sawe the visions of the Apocalips. It were hard to knowe how long this persecution endured, but as we may gather by Eusebius, it continued two yeres & a lytle moze. For he sayth that Domitian dyd moderate and cease his execution, and yet notwithstanding as wel by reason of the said persecution as for his other vices, the same Domitian hath bene holden to be one of the most wicked and cruell Princes that ever lived.

The third persecution of the Church was under the government of the Emperour Traian, who allured by the Devill & his other ministers determined by tortments to pynishe the Christians, and therefore by publique edict, ordayned that the Christians should worship the God of the Gentiles upon paine of death: Whereunto the Christians not willing to obey, he made a great slaughter of them. This was the third persecution of the Church Catholique, whereof Eusebius and divers other Historiographers Christians do make plentiful mencion, & that was in the tenth yere of the Emprze of Traian, which afterward also commaunded this persecution to be stayed as both appeare by some writers, & especially in the letters of Plyn. directed to Traian, & in the answeres thereto sent by the same Emperour, which are at this present extant, where he prescribed that the Christians should be permitted to lyue in their lawes and under theyr liberties: If they dyd not commit any other wickednesse therewith.

The fourth persecution was in the time, and under the dominion of the Emperour Marcus Aurelius surnamed the Philosopher, whose lyfe we have described in another booke apart by it selfe; this Prince during the tyme that he made warres against the Parthians, as Eusebius and Orosius do declare, endowred his power to persecute the Christians, which remayned in Europe and Asia, where Lucius Varus was gouernour. This was the fourth persecution of the Church militant, so that it followeth that God suffered this general pestilence to raigne amongst them, and a thousand other calamities to happen unto them enduring the government of this Prince as we have largely declared in this Compend.

The fifth persecution of the Church was during the raigne of Septimus Seuerus the Emperour, the which by the instigation of a Devil, made a great butchery of the faithful Christians. This fifth persecution was the cause (as sayth Orosius) of God to punish this Prince

and his

D. liij.

to

to lye in priſon, for one of his Captaines rebelled againſt him, named Albinus, the which made all Brittainy to redolt from him, calling him ſelfe Emperour during the time of his life.

The ſirſt perſecution of the Church was in the time of the Emperour Maſſianus, the curſed Prince being offended that Alexander Severus had ſuppoſted the Chriſtians, by expreſſe ordinance & commiſſion made a great and bloody ſpoyle of the Chriſtians, & pꝛinſtall'd of ſundry miniſters of thoſe which created any auſpicioſitie amongſt the Chriſtian people: This was the ſirſt perſecution as ſaith Euſebius & Oroſius in the which this Prince uſed many vnaccuſtomed tormẽts, and cauſed others cruell puniſhmentes to be inuented, where by the poore Chriſtians might be miſerably handled, who had ſuch an opinion and pꝛeſumptuous pride of himſelfe & his power, that he eſteemed that no perſon might once hurt him, and that it were impoſſible to wounde or to kyll him. In which opinion he moſt deuiliſhly purſued all his cruelties and tormẽtes.

The ſeuenth perſecution was in the rule of the Emperour Decius: This Prince although otherwiſe he were of good naturall diſpoſition, was notwithſtanding in religion an Infidell, and in that reſpect ſought the deſtruction of the militant Church, ſo that no ſuch crueltye were before tyme uſed, as now in his tyme: towardeſ the afflicted Chriſtians. The which is affirmed that he onely dyd in deſpite of his pꝛodeceſſour Phillip: who had before bene Chriſtened. And ſo this ſeuenth perſecution was in the time of this Decius.

The eyght perſecution was enduring the raigne of the Emperour, Valerian: who (as Euſebius doth report) was ſo favourable to the Chriſtians in the beginning of his raigne, that he would not permitte that any perſonne dyd them any wrong or violence: for he bare ſuch affection and bonour unto them that his palace was a true colledge and ſanctuarie for the Chriſtians: but towardes the ende of his raigne, he ſuffered himſelfe to be ſeduced by a Magician of Egypt, who was a deadly enemy to the Chriſtian religion; becauſe the ſame dyd impugne the deceitfull and Sorceries of the Magicians. In ſuch ſort that he dyd not all onely chaunge his opinion towardes the Chriſtians, but alſo perſecuted them with great ſlaughter. This was the eyght perſecution of which Oroſius doth liberally diſcourſe, but ſuch was the iuſtice of God, & his cruell retriſſe, that ſuch euill fortune

fortune followed Valerian after this deede, that he was taken prisoner and sell into the handes of Sapor King of Percia which dyd intreate and handle him most cruelly.

The ninth persecution of the Church was in the time of the Emperour Aurelian, who hauing most louinglie vsed the Chzistians in the first fyre yeares of his raigne (as appeareth by the wyting of Eusebius and Orosius) in the ende by the pꝛouocation of the Deuill and other most wicked persons, he persecuted the Chzistians generally thꝛoughout all the confines of his Empire. And this was the ninth persecution of y^e faithfull. Now it happened that as this Prince was ready to signe a commission which he was to dispatche to the gouernors of the Princes of the Empire against the Chzistians, an arrow fell from Heauen so neare vnto him that those which were present, thought that it had kyled the Emperour. But besides this signe and aduertisement God suffered the effect to followe, that is to saye, the death of the aforesayd Prince, for he was miserablye slaine by his owne men and seruantes, and by the same receyued the guerdone and payment of his desarkes and offences.

The tenth persecution was in the time of the Emperour Dioclesian. This Prince being in quiet rest from all his affaires, strꝛed by Belzebub and his ministers: he being a Paimin and noꝛished in the superstitions of the Idolatrye of the Gentiles, beganne to persecute and pursue the Catholike church, which was the tenth generall persecution of the Chzistians, (to accompt from the same of Nero) and this was the most cruell & longest of continuance of al others, the which endured by the space of ten continuall yeares. Now the Chzistians had long time liued in rest & quiet since the persecution which was in the gouernment of the Emperour Aurelian, in such sort y^e the Chzistian religion was now become of great force in all churches. And all the Cities and Towns, as well within the dominions of the Emperour, as without the limmits of the same: and the Chzistians were exceedingly multiplied in number, and had great assemblies in their Churches. But as sayth Eusebius, this rest and libertie which they enioyed, was cause that the pollicie and maner of lꝛyng of the Chzistians began to be corrupted, so that many iniquities & wickednesse dyd grow presently, & the old former sanctimony began to diminish, and such disorders & discentions began to be moued amongst

mongst the Bishops and the Prelats, that as the sayd Eusebius witnesseth: God permitted this persecution to serue in place of reuenge, and chastisement of his Church. This persecution was so great, so cruell, and so bloody: that it is impossible for any pen to write the vnnatural slaughters which the Paynims vsed: neither is there any tongue that is able to pronounce them. The which Eusebius doth well declare, being a present witness, beholding the same with his eyes, as done in his owne sight: for he sayth that he cannot describe nor speake that which he saw executed befoze his face. To whom Orosius doth condisend, writing in the same sort, that there was not any heart so harde that would not be moued to compassion, reading the cruelties of this persecution. Which amaseth me to consider of the constancie of the Partyes which endured such tormentes so valiantlye, and of the cruelty of those which murdered and tormented them so maliciouslye. And to the intent that you and all other shoulde know what punishments this butcherlic Prince ministred vnto the Christians, I haue wyllinglie recited some notable partes of the same, which be these. First this Prince dyd rinate and sacke al the Churches of the Christians, and forbidd them to make any assemblies for the seruice of God in any part: he commaunded all the booke of the holy Scriptures to be burned which they might finde. Also he ordained that all Christians of what estate or condition so euer they were, shoulde not be admitted to estate or any office of Magistrate, and y those presentlie which were placed in any offices shoulde be removed, and counted infamed, and some were put to death for example.

Further they appointed that the goodes of the Bishops and Prelates Christians, shoulde be declared to be confiscate and forfayted. The Christian bond man could not be manumitted or enfranchised. And these Lawes were published throught the confines of the Empire. Besides the which constitucions, the poore miserable Christians, were otherwise most wickedly intreated, and receiued diuers outragious iniuries: diuers being enforced to dye cruelllye and with much shame. And in some prouinces where they were blinded with affections & perticular occasions which the Deuil guided by the permission of the diuine God, they vsed many cruelties and incredible horriblenesse towards the Christians, as in Frigia, Suria, Egypt, and diuers other countreys, for some were horgled and scorchted in
life,

lyfe, and others had they: fleshe carded as though it had bene woll, as flaxe, which were Christian creatures after suche burning and tozments, were thzowen into strait prison, in great feblemesse, and yet honest and constant in the faith, they were hanged naked by the fete, to pzolong they: deathes the moze with shame and dishonesty. And by that meanes endured double tozment, of some they cut of the nose, the eares, the fingers, the bandes, and the fete, and onely left them they: eyes to behold their miserie, and to encrease their grieve and paine, they tare some alpye quite in the middell, tying one leggs to a great arme of a Tre bended with force, and the other legge to another tre crouked in the same manner: Afterward letting the same Trees to returne into his naturall place, soz to cleaue the body in sander. So others they used this cruelty, that they pzicked sharpe needles and great thoznes betwene the nayles of the fette and the bandes, which be the most sensible and tenderest partes of al the body. Some other men were beaten with rounde balles, and pellets of Leade and Lynne. In conclusion they were enforced to endure and sustaine the most cruell tozmentes which might be deuised, by the Deuilles pollicie. And this slaughter of the Christians was exceeding great, during this persecution.

The clementh and last persecution generally of the Church was enduring the gouernment of the Empero: Iulianus, which was an Idolater, & Sacrificer to the Deuill: Which Emperour studied by al meanes he might to persecute the christian church. Who likewise to attaine the effect of his purposed deuise, byd vse a singuler & vnaccustomed subtiltie, by the which vnder cloked & colloz of shadowed curtesie & benignitie, he did enfeble the Christian religion as much as he could, giving them alwaies yet to vnderstand, y he was soft & gentle by nature, & not cruel & rigozous. This new inuencion in persecuting the Church was subtilly found out by him as I thinke, biraufe he had sen & by experice did vnderstand y the blood of y martirs did cause the christian religion to spring moze frute fully. And therfoze he determined to worke & pzoccede contrary to y other Emperours his predecessors had perfozmed, y is to say, to draw y Christians vnto his Idolatrous worshipping by auancement of estates, offices, & dignities, as witnesseth Ruffinus, S. Hierom & Casiodorus, so y hereby he caused diuers ambitious & conetous persos to denie christianity, & to solow Idolatry, by means of y estates & offices which they had giue them.

This

This was the greatest wound that euer the Church received, for di-
uers Christians by the meanes of this inuention, remitted thei-
faith, but in the ende when the Emperour Julian perceued that these
deuises serued to small ende to his entent, although he made them
not to lase their lyues, neyther dyd violentlye constrain their con-
sciences. Yet he published diuers hartfull edictes against the Chri-
stians, and verie vitious for Christianitie. First he commanded
that no Christian might obtaine any degre in Schoole, keepe Lec-
ture, or reade in any arte or science, whatsoeuer; neyther that he
might be admitted to studie, vnlesse he dyd worship the Idols. The
which he dyd to the ende y the Christians banished from the know-
ledge of learning should be brought to Idolatrie, or that they should
els remaine fooles and ignozant Idots, and so by continuance that
none should be able to preache the Euangelie. Also he ordained that
no Christian should be admitted to any estate, office, or dignitie of
Magistrate, eyther in warre or peace. In conclusion this monster
searched out all the wayes to rayse battaile against Iesus Christ,
without shedding humaine blood, which was the right deuise of the
Deuill, to depriue the blessed Martyrs from the gloze and crowne
which they should haue obtained for thei- martyrdom. Behold the
first, & most notable persecutions, which the church militant sustai-
ned: since which time there hath been many other, in euery seuerall
place, but they were of small importaunce in respect of these befoze
sayde. Touching the rest, because I am wary of wyting this long
letter, & that my pen can do me no more seruice therin. I say nothing
else but this, that I wyl more redelie employ my selfe towards the
Countie of Osarno, for y affaires of Vasco lopes, which you haue re-
commended vnto my fauor: as sone as the sayd Countie may attend the
same, for he keepeth his bed at this instant, & laboureth greuously of y
Colic. The Lord haue you in his keeping, & giue me grace to serue
him. From Valodolid the. 15. of Iune. Anno. 1541.



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of Sir Antony of Gueuara,



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- Foll. 328. line. 2. Reade calpe for namp.
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 Foll. Idem. line. 17. Reade thesthes, for gothes.
 Foll. Idem. line 22. Reade Cesaria, for Cesaria.
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 Foll. Idem. line 25. Reade byquene, for byquemust.
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 Foll. 344. line 27. Reade ninus, for minus.
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 Foll. 384. line 20. Reade neither, for ether.

